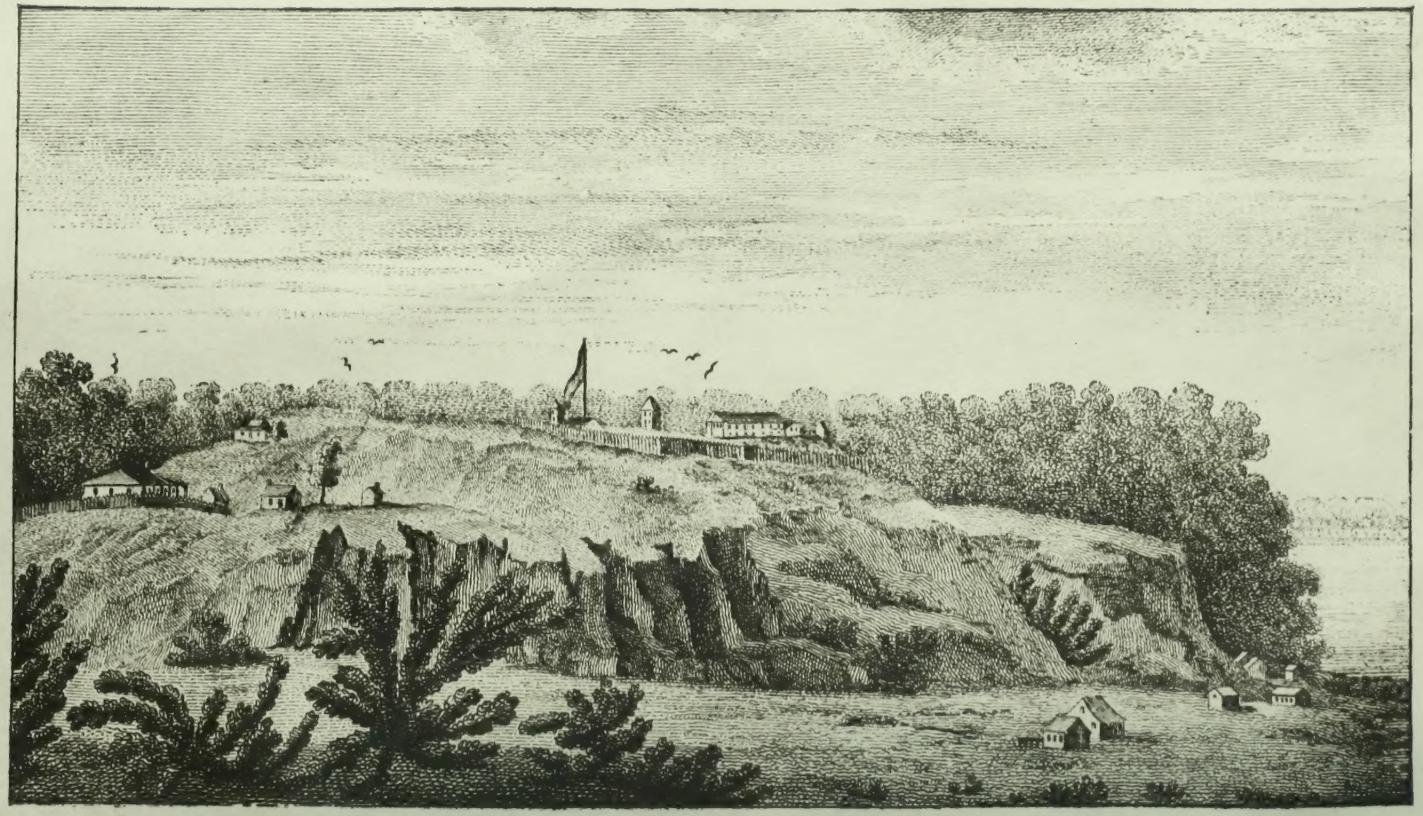
THE HISTORY OF FORT PANMURE AT NATCHEZ, 1763-1779

BY

MOREAU BROWNE CONGLETON CHAMBERS

DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

MANUSCRIPT THESES



FORT OF THE NATCHEZ.

[From Callot's *Atlas.*]

THE HISTORY OF FORT PANMURE AT NATCHEZ, 1763-1779

by

Moreau Browne Congleton Chambers

Date: August 31, 1942

Approved: R. H. Woody
R. S. Rankin
Jos. Tate Lanning

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts
in the Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences
of
Duke University

1942

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Fort Rosalie at Natchez was planned in 1700 by Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville as the future center of French government in Louisiana and was named in honor of the wife of the powerful minister of the Marine, the Duc de Pontchartrain. Actual construction of the fort took place in 1716, under the direction of Iberville's distinguished brother, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville. Its situation beside the Mississippi River permitted French control of the important tribe of Natchez Indians on whose lands it stood and afforded domination of river traffic and communication along the Mississippi between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. Until 1729 this palisaded fortification was the nucleus for a thriving agricultural community; in that year the incompetence of the Sieur Dechepare, commandant of the fort, provoked an Indian uprising in which the garrison and majority of the settlers were slaughtered by the Natchez Indians. Although this celebrated Massacre of Fort Rosalie was avenged by the defeat and dispersal of the Natchez tribe, the rebuilding of the fort upon the river bluff brought with it no re-establishment of the formerly thriving community. For the succeeding thirty-three years of French rule Fort Rosalie was little more than a way-station to protect and accommodate river travel.

This was the fort, however, that under the British régime, from 1763 to 1779, was known as Fort Panmure. Change in sovereignty involved more than a mere change in name; for the first time in its existence of forty-seven years this fortification had become a frontier fort, guarding an international boundary. It is with this new phase of its colorful history that the present study is primarily concerned. From the story of England's use, neglect, and subsequent re-use of this strategically located outpost of British rule in her colonial southwest, it is hoped that a clearer conception may be secured of the problems of military defense in this area.

Wherever possible, primary sources available in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History and in the Duke University Library have been utilized. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to make use of the British transcripts in the Library of Congress, nor to consult the Haldimand papers and other sources available at London. Furthermore, much valuable material on the administration of military affairs in West Florida is contained in the unpublished papers of General Thomas Gage, now preserved in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. A more adequate and fuller treatment of this phase of British colonial enterprise in the Natchez region must await examination of these undoubtedly rich sources.[1]

M. B. C. C.

---

[1] Sources valuable for a study of the French period are the

---

archival materials in French depositories; thirty-four volumes of transcripts of these records are in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, while more extensive collections of copies are in the Library of Congress. Three printed volumes of translation of the Mississippi Provincial Archives, covering the years 1701-1743, and representing the joint efforts of Dunbar Rowland and A. G. Sanders, have been published by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. Likewise valuable are the seventy-three volumes of Jesuit Relations, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites; Pierre Margry's Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale; Dumont dit Montigny's manuscripts in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, at Chicago; B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana; Du Pratz's Histoire de La Louisiane; and Père Charlevoix's writings. For the Spanish period in the history of Fort Panmure, the prime sources are the archival materials contained in the Cuban Papers, now preserved at Seville; the key to this collection is Roscoe R. Hill's Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents relating to the United States. In the Mississippi Department of Archives and History are nine volumes of transcripts taken from the originals at Seville; these represent but a fraction of the mass of documentary material in Spanish repositories that bear directly on the history of Fort Panmure during the period from 1779 to 1798.

Chapter I

THE OCCUPATION OF FORT ROSALIE, 1763-1766

By the provisions of the Treaty of Paris, concluded February 16, 1763, France lost virtually all her vast American domain. Spain, her ally in the last months of the Seven Years' War, gave Florida to England; as partial compensation for her losses she received from France the Isle of Orleans on the east bank of the Mississippi River and all the lands of the former French province of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi and extending far inland. To England fell undisputed control of Canada and the entire eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, with the exception of the strategically important Isle of Orleans on which was situated New Orleans. The Mississippi River thus became an international boundary between Spain and Great Britain, and open to free navigation by both powers.[1]

---

[1] Arthur S. Aiton, "The Diplomacy of the Louisiana Cession," American Historical Review, XXXVI (July, 1931), 701-720. (Hereafter this periodical will be cited as A. H. R.).

From its very location on the western frontier of this new British domain Natchez with its military post now assumed fresh significance. Although it had been little more than a way-station on the Canada-Gulf waterway for the past thirty-three years, Fort Rosalie in 1763 occupied a vantage point on the extreme western edge of the British dominion; the tree-covered vista below its bluffs and extending beyond the horizon to the west was now in the possession of Spain; the river flowing in the foreground had now become a national boundary.

Approximately two hundred and seventy-five miles downstream from Natchez was New Orleans, the old capital of French Louisiana, and still the seat of government for Spanish Louisiana. Kerlérec,[2] the French governor of Louisiana, for the past

---

[2] Louis Billouart, chevalier de Kerlérec (1704-1770), French sailor and colonial statesman; governor of Louisiana, 1752-1764; following a brilliant record in the French navy, De Kerlérec served as the last regular governor of French Louisiana and was recalled to France under a cloud, unjustly suspected of malfeasance in office; his death occurred before judgement could be obtained in an appeal trial. The Encyclopedia Americana [30 volumes] (New York, 1932), XVI, 378. (Hereafter cited as Ency. Amer.); Jean Chrétien Hoefer, ed., Nouvelle Biographie Générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'a nos jours, avec les renseignements bibliographiques . . . ["universelle" instead of "générale" is carried in the title of first nine volumes; there are 46 volumes in the set], (Paris, 1853-1866), XXVII, 615. (Hereafter cited as Nouv. Biog. Gen.).

eleven years, and Dabbadie,[3] the French commissioner to arrange the transfer of Louisiana, continued to exercise French authority from that provincial capital pending the consummation of the transfer.

Pensacola, situated on the Gulf Coast more than two hundred miles to the east of New Orleans, became the capital for the British Province of West Florida, created by proclamation of George III on October 7, 1763, and therein described as

> . . . bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Coast, from the River Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the Westward by the said Lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the River Mississippi; to the Northward by a Line drawn due East from that part of the River Mississippi which lies in 31 Degrees North Latitude, to the River Apalachicola or Chatahouchee; and to the Eastward by the said River. 4

Although the northern boundary of West Florida at its

---

3 Sieur Dabbadie (d'Abbadie) (-1765) was appointed in 1761 commissaire et ordonnateur of Louisiana for France but he was captured by the British before he could exercise his functions; in 1763-1764 he replaced Kerlérec as governor of Louisiana and had charge of the details of the cession of Louisiana to England; upon his death in 1765 he was succeeded by Aubry. Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter, eds., The Critical Period, 1763-1765 [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. X; British Series, Vol. I] (Springfield, 1915), 37n (hereafter cited as Alvord and Carter, Crit. Period).

4 The text of this proclamation by George III, which appears in Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, 115, was reprinted in Alvord and Carter, Crit. Period, 35-43.

establishment was the thirty-first parallel, soon afterward the fact was discovered that this boundary excluded the valuable Natchez country, an oversight which was adjusted the year following by moving the north line up to the mouth of the Yazoo River, immediately north of the present city of Vicksburg, Mississippi, a safe hundred miles north of Natchez.[5]

Even before blustering George Johnstone,[6] the first governor of West Florida, could reach his new province, plans were taking shape for the actual transfer from French to English hands of the former French military posts along the left bank of the Mississippi. From its strategic position Fort Rosalie con-

---

5 Isaac Joslin Cox, The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813 [:] A Study in American Diplomacy [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1912] (Baltimore, 1918), 11-13 (hereafter cited as Cox, W. Fla. Controv.); Clarence Edwin Carter, "Some Aspects of British Administration in West Florida," Mississippi Valley Historical Review I (1914-1915), 364-375 (hereafter cited as M. V. H. R.); B. A. Hinsdale, "The Establishment of the First Southern Boundary of the United States," American Historical Association Annual Reports, 1893, 329-360 (hereafter this set will be cited as A. H. A. Rept.). A full account of the boundary discussion and the disputes which grew out of it appears in John Francis Hamtramck Claiborne, Mississippi, as a Province, Territory and State, With Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens, Volume I [none other issued] (Jackson, 1880), 94-101 (hereafter cited as Claiborne, Mississippi).

6 George Johnstone (1730-1787), naval officer, 1760-1762; Governor of West Florida, 1763-1767; later became a member of Parliament, a member of the commission to treat with the American Colonies, 1778, and still later a commodore of a small fleet operating off the Portuguese coast. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., Dictionary of National Biography . . . [22 volumes + 2 supplementary volumes] (London, 1921-1922; re-issued, 1938), X, 963-965 (hereafter cited as D. N. B.); Dunbar Rowland, ed., Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-1766, English Dominion . . . , I [none other issued], (Nashville, 1911), xiii-xxi (hereafter cited as M. P. A., Engl.).

tinued to bulk large in the esteem of French and English authorities alike. Apparently Major Robert Farmer,[7] after becoming military and civil administrator pro tem at Mobile, on the Gulf Coast to the west of Pensacola, had lost no time in securing information concern- this fort; when he reported to the Secretary at war, Welbore Ellis,[8] on January 24, 1764, barely three months after his own arrival, Farmer furnished details concerning the Natchez fort that possibly he had observed in person, for he wrote

> . . . to put this Fort [Ft. Rosalie] in a state of Defence, the Platforms ought to be entirely New laid, as both the Platforms and planks are so rotten, that they will not support the weight of the Cannon, the Stockades and Gates of the Covert way[9] are in the same condition. When I took possession of it, one of the principal Gates of the Fort, and one of the Covert way leading to the water, were entirely unhinged, and the place not tenable against a party with small Arms, and the Communication between the Officers Barracks and the Fort open. 10

---

7 Robert Farmer (1735-1780) provisional military and civil commandant of western half of West Florida, 1763-1764; as Major, 34th Regiment of Foot, he commanded military post of Mobile, 1763-1764; commandant of posts in Illinois country, 1765-1766; retired from military life to plantation near Mobile and died there. Ibid., 7n; Alvord and Carter, Crit. Period, xl; Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775 [2 volumes] (Yale Historical Publications, Volumes XI and XII) (New Haven, 1931, 1933) see indexes (hereafter cited as Carter, Gage Corresp.)

8 Welbore Ellis, first Baron Mendip (1713-1802); lord of the Admiralty, 1747-1755; member Privy Council, 1760; Sec. at war, 1762-1765; treas. of Navy, 1777-1782; Sec. of State for America, 1782. D. N. B., VI, 710-712.

9 The "covert," or covered way, was a protected runway outside of the ditch of a fortification, along which the garrison could move under the protection afforded by the palisades; definition adapted from H. L. Scott, Military Dictionary; comprising technical definitions . . . (New York, 1861), 212.

10 M. P. A., Engl., 9.

In the same letter Farmar referred to the difficulty of furnishing subsistence for the British troops in the South and mentioned that Lieutenant Colonel James Robertson,[11] the Quarter Master General for America, had provided funds to subsist and transport the regiment bound upstream to occupy the Illinois Country. From the remaining funds Farmar had to maintain his military command at Mobile and still save "a small sum to subsist a Command of Fifty men purposed to be sent to take possession of Natchize, a post . . . which the French have abandoned since the Definitive Treaty was Signed."[12]

How much Farmar was influenced in this determination to occupy Fort Rosalie by a letter which Kerlérec wrote him on October 2, 1763, cannot be determined. The French governor was completing eleven years of residence in the colony, and Farmar seems to have received his many suggestions with frank appreciation. In this friendly letter Kerlérec remarks, ". . . you may likewise on your Route [to the Illinois country] establish a Post at Natcheres.[13]

---

11 James Robertson (1720-1788), a Scots army officer in colonial service; officer since 1739, field officer since 1756, when he sailed to America; Quarter Master General, 1757, and participated in the Louisburg campaign with Amherst; deputy quarter master general in General Gage's army, 1765, with rank of Lieutenant Colonel and promoted the same year to post of Barrack Master General of North America; Colonel, 1772; Brigadier General, 1776; Civil Governor of New York, 1779; Lieutenant General, 1782. D. N. B., XVI, 1295; Carter, Gage Corresp., II, 268, 300, 312, 610, 630, 667, 688.

12 M. P. A., Engl., 9.

13 This odd spelling must not be attributed to Governor Kerlérec; it appears in the English version of his letter.

observing at the same time to send workmen to build Barrack, those which are now there being so old, that we was obliged to Evacuate, and abandon them, they not being fit to be repaired," and further on he suggested, " . . . if you think proper at present to Establish a Post at Natchers, you ought to leave a Garrison of 50 men with Two Officers." [14]

Thus from the very outset the garrisoning of Fort Rosalie at Natchez was a part of British policy. At the time of his brief visit to West Florida in the autumn of 1763, Lieutenant Colonel Robertson designated Captain Lieutenant James Campbell, of the Thirty-fourth Regiment, to command the Natchez garrison when it should be established.[15] Campbell evidently was a member of the little expedition which left Mobile in January, 1764, for New Orleans, there to purchase supplies and otherwise outfit itself for the wearisome ascent of the Mississippi to assume control of the French posts in the Illinois region. Major Arthur Loftus, of the Twenty-second Regiment, commanded this expedition, which numbered 320 men, 30 women, and 17 children when it pushed off from New Orleans on February 27, 1764. Although the French inhabitants of the colony were unfriendly, Kerlérec and Dabbadie

---

14 M. P. A., Engl., 56, 57.

15 James Campbell, Captain Lieutenant, 34th Regiment, to Governor Johnstone, Mobile, Dec. 12, 1764, M. P. A. Engl., 266.

gave all possible help to the party.[16] Both Kerlérec and Dabbadie warned Loftus of the hostile attitude of the upstream Indians, and the need to observe caution in passing through their lands; furthermore, the British leader had the benefit of an interpreter for the first part of his voyage. Loftus must have become contemptuous of savage opposition and failed to take adequate precaution, for, as he was approaching the Roche à Davion, known later as Loftus Cliffs, a band of about thirty Tunica, Choctaw, Ofo, and Avoyelles Indians fired on the foremost boats of the flotilla, killing six and wounding seven members of the expedition. This attack occurred on March 19. Earlier troubles had befallen the party, but at this attack from ambush Loftus was convinced that the Indians had acted upon orders from the French officers still in the colony in an effort to wipe out his entire expedition. At once he ordered a retreat, and the boats fell quickly down the river to New Orleans, where Loftus was loud in his denunciations of French perfidy.[17]

As the party approached the line of demarcation at the

---

16 Clinton N. Howard, "The Interval of Military Government in West Florida," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXII (January, 1939), 18-30 (hereafter this periodical will be cited as L. H. Q.); Alvord and Carter, Crit. Period, xl ff.

17 Ibid.

Iberville River,[18] Campbell tried to persuade Loftus to land and establish a camp on British soil. As Governor Johnstone reported the affair, "The Thing was proposed by Captain Campbell, and agreed to by Major Loftus and the Troops were actually landed. But why he did not continue in the Resolution is as little to be accounted for, as any other part of his Conduct." [19] Loftus continued his retreat from New Orleans to Pensacola, his entire expedition a failure. Dabbadie in particular he blamed for his own lack of success.[20]

At once Loftus dispatched a courier with his report to General Thomas Gage,[21] Commander in Chief of British forces, at

---

18 The Iberville River, or Bayou Manchac, formed an outlet for flood waters of the Mississippi River through Lake Maurepas, Pass Manchac, and Lake Pontchartrain to the Gulf. All land to the north was a part of British West Florida, while the land to the south of this international boundary was known as the Isle of Orleans and formed a part of Spanish Louisiana.

19 Johnstone to John Pownall, Secretary to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Feb.19, 1765, M. P. A., Engl., 271.

20 Alvord and Carter, Crit. Period, xl-xlv; Claiborne, Mississippi, 104-105; Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 29-30; Gage to Halifax, New York, May 21, 1764.

21 Thomas Gage (1721-1787), lieut., 1741, promoted through ranks to general, 1782; commander-in-chief in North America, 1763-1772, 1775; gov.-in-chief and captain-general, Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1774, D. N. B., VII, 795-797.

his New York headquarters. In less than a month the discouraging word was borne by ship from the Gulf Coast to New York. At once Gage stated his purpose: ". . . the taking Possession of the Ilinois must be again attempted. . ." Once more Major Loftus was directed to make the attempt.

At the same time Gage sent directions for Major Farmar to make necessary defence preparations; with respect to Fort Rosalie, Gage wrote —

> . . . He [Farmar] will immediately endeavor to push up a Detachment of the 34th Regt to the Natchez, a Post of Consequence to prevent the French from having an Intercourse with the Numerous Nations on the East Side of the Mississippi, and to give us a Footing on that River which We now want, to become acquainted with Tribes to whom we are unknown, and to be enabled to conciliate their Affections, and remove the Prejudices they have conceived against us. [22]

Farmar transmitted Gage's orders to Campbell, who spent six months with a crew of fifty Negroes clearing a waterway through the clogged Iberville River so that boats from the Gulf might ascend the Mississippi without needing to pass New Orleans. As proof of his own good faith Dabbadie helped Campbell find a basis of common understanding with the suspicious Tunicas, but once more Farmar evidently failed in his effort, and another year passed

---

[22] Gage to Halifax, New York, May 21, 1764, Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 29-30.

without a British garrison occupying Fort Rosalie at Natchez.[23]

The difficult work of clearing the Iberville River continued into the spring of 1765, with Campbell still in charge of operations. Early in the year a small fort was erected at the Mississippi end of the Iberville and was garrisoned and fortified largely through the joint interest of Johnstone and Farmar. Named Fort Bute,[24] this post became an important center for British trade on both sides of the international boundary and was designed to protect the Iberville waterway.[25] When interrupted by an Indian foray, the British detachment was reinforced temporarily by French as well as British troops to overawe the Indians,[26] and

---

23 Idem; Gage to Halifax, New York, July 13, 1764, ibid., I, 31-33; same to same, Nov. 9, 1764, ibid., I, 41-44; Alvord and Carter, Crit. Period, xliv-xv, 351-352; Farmar To Welbore Ellis, Mobile, April 7, 1764, M. P. A., Engl., 117; Campbell to Johnstone, Mobile, Dec. 12, 1764, ibid., 266-268; Johnstone to Pownall, Feb. 19, 1765, ibid., 271-273. Unfamiliarity with local problems of transportation and lack of friendly accord with Indians were probably the chief reasons for failure of the 1765 attempt to garrison Fort Rosalie.

24 Governor Johnstone thus displayed his gratitude to Lord Bute, the Premier of England and a fellow Scotsman, through whose influence he had received his appointment as governor.

25 Claiborne, Mississippi, 105.

26 Gage to Henry S. Conway, Secretary of State, Dec. 21, 1765, Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 75-78.

the work of establishing this military post was carried to completion.[27]

Command of the Illinois expedition had at last been transferred from the inept Major Loftus to Major Farmar. With the Thirty-fourth Regiment he left Mobile probably early in April, passed New Orleans about July, and in August had reached Natchez.[28] The engineer with this expedition, Captain Philip Pittman,[29] had opportunity to pause at Natchez long enough to map the fort and environs and to record the following description of Fort Rosalie:

> The fort is about six hundred and seventy yards from the river's side. The road to it is very bad, on account of a steep high ground which is at a small distance from the landing-place, very difficult to ascend, and almost impracticable for carriages; a small distance from this high land is a hill, on the summit of which stands the fort, and the road

---

27 Gage to Welbore Ellis, New York, April 13, 1765, ibid., II, 277-278; Minutes of Meeting at Mobile [between Johnstone, Majors Farmar and Loftus, Captain Campbell, and Mr. Robertson, engineer], Jan. 7, 1765, M. P. A., Engl., 261-263. The cost estimated at 5619.7 Dollars. Ibid., 260-261.

28 Gage to Barrington, New York, March 29, 1766, Carter, Gage Corresp., II, 344-345; Philip Pittman, The Present State of the European Settlements on the Missisippi with a Geographical Description . . . (reprint of London, 1770, edition by Frank H. Hodder, Cleveland, 1906), 80, (hereafter cited as Pittman, Present State of Eu. Settlements on Miss.)

29 Philip Pittman was an ensign in 1760; in 1764 he attempted the ascent of the Miss. River; in 1765 he accompanied Farmar as engineer attached to the 34th Regt. in the occupation of the Illinois country.

bacores much better, ascending with a gradual slope. The trouble of going up is recompensed by the sight of a most delightful country of great extent . . . .

When I made the survey of fort Rosalie, which was in the month of August [1765], I observed that the Missisippi had fallen thirty-six feet. The breadth of the river at this place is exactly eighteen hundred and seventy feet, and the fort stands one hundred and eighty feet above the surface of the water. It is an irregular pentagon, without bastions,[30] and is built of plank of five inches thick; the buildings within the fort are a store-house, a house for the officers, a barrack for the soldiers, and a guard-house. These buildings are made of framed timber, filled up with mud and barbe espagnole, (a kind of moss, which grows in great abundance on all the trees in Louisiana) and in this country that manner of building houses is very common. . . .

The ditch is partly made and partly natural; the bottom is in most places nineteen feet from the top of the rampart, and in many twelve and thirteen from the top of the counterscarp;[31] on the north side of the fort there is no ditch at all, but it is fenced with pickets, to prevent an enemy getting under the cover of the counterscarp or into the ditch. The rampart is nearly the same height above the pickets as it is in other parts above the bottom of the ditch.[32]

The expedition which Major Farmar led to the Illinois country, however, could spare no men to form a garrison for the Natchez post; other plans were being developed for it.

At about the time Captain Pittman was mapping Fort Rosalie, Johnstone was securing the formal approval of the provincial

---

[30] Bastion: projecting offset in a fortification permitting defense of outer side of a fort's walls by firing along the wall at the enemy there. Scott, Mil. Dictionary, 81.

[31] Counterscarp: the permanent, steep outer edge of the ditch surrounding a fortification. Ibid, 208.

[32] Pittman, Present State of Eu. Settlements on Miss., 78-81.

council for his plan to send a detachment of one captain, two subalterns, and fifty men aboard the transport Speedwell to take possession of Fort Rosalie;[33] no record, however, has been found of the arrival of the Speedwell at Natchez in the late summer of 1765 with the oft-delayed garrison.

Fort Rosalie apparently continued in a deserted, ruinous state throughout the winter of 1765-1766. When Lieutenant Alexander Fraser[34] saw the "Fort of the Natchey" on May 4, 1766, it impressed him as little better than the other French forts which he had found in a ruinous condition higher up the Mississippi; ". . . the Barracks and every thing in them Seem to have been destroyed through wantonness," he writes, "I am much Surprised, that, We have not inquired of the French their Reasons for abandoning them the forts which he had seen so abruptly without giving us Regular possession of them . "[35]

---

[33]Minutes of Council, Aug. 6, 1765, M.P.A., Engl., 358; Gage to Conway, Dec. 21, 1765, Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 75-78.

[34]Gage sent Lieutenant Alexander Fraser, "of the late 78th Regiment," as a volunteer scout among the Illinois Indians in advance of the occupation by British forces. He descended the Ohio River, was taken into custody by Pontiac, and released later in the year. Following his release Lieutenant Fraser descended the Mississippi.

[35]Lieutenant Alexander Fraser to [General Haldimand], May 4, 1766, Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter, eds., The New Regime, 1765-1767 [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XI; British Series, Vol. II] (Springfield, 1916), 230 (hereafter cited as Alvord and Carter, New Régime). Fraser's mission is mentioned in Carter, Gage Corresp.; see indexes.

The avoidance of needless expense would be the most reasonable explanation for the French removal of a garrison from Fort Rosalie at some time after the Treaty of Paris became effective. In January, 1764, Dabbadie characterized the post thus: "The Natchez. . . has remained without inhabitants since. . . 1729. . . The post which has been established there serves only as an entrepôt for the convoys ascending to the Illinois. On account of bad administration and abuses in the expenditures for the king, the post has cost during the last years very considerable sums." Dabbadie to the Minister, New Orleans, Jan. 10, 1764, Alvord and Carter, Crit. Period, 207-213. With the trade slipping from the French grasp as the natural result of the change of sovereignty in the Mississippi Valley, Natchez had become more of an economic liability than an asset to France. Then, too, England had been afforded a reasonable length of time to occupy her forts when the French garrison was withdrawn, probably in August or September, 1763.

[illegible] in [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Choleric Governor Johnstone, characteristically involved in wranglings with his provincial officers, violently opposed the decision of Colonel William Tayler,[36] acting brigadier general of the military forces in West Florida, to send a portion of the Twenty-first Regiment to garrison Fort Rosalie in the summer of 1766. Although the project was of a sort to enlist Johnstone's support under normal conditions, at this time the governor was pressing vigorously for a declaration of war against the Creek Indians, who had lately killed two British traders, and whose attack upon the settlements was feared. Johnstone regarded the situation as serious, and "entered his Protest" against reducing the already depleted ranks of the military force in the province by sending off a detachment to Natchez.[37] Tayler regarded the danger of an Indian attack as remote and proceeded with his plans regardless of the governor's opposition.[38] From a total effective military strength in the province of less than five hundred men and officers, Tayler ordered sixty men to proceed from Mobile, the military headquarters for the West, to Natchez.[39] Nevertheless, when Captain Rhea of the "Scotch Fusiliers" arrived at Natchez on September 29, 1766, at last to occupy Fort Rosalie for George III of Great Britain, only four

---

[36]William Tayler (Taylor), Colonel, 9th Regiment, and Aide-de-Camp to the King, was appointed Acting Brigadier General for the Southern Department September, 1765, and served until March, 1767.

[37]Johnstone to Conway, Pensacola, June 23, 1766, M.P.A., Engl., 511-515; Johnstone to Tayler, Pensacola, June 22, 1766, ibid., 519-520.

[38]Gage to Earl of Shelburne, Sec. of State, New York, Dec. 23, 1766, Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 115-118; same to same, Jan. 17, 1767, ibid., 118-120.

[39]Gage to Conway, June 23, 1766, M.P.A., Engl., 514.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

officers and forty-four men took part in the transformation of the French Fort Rosalie into the British post known as Fort Panmure,[40] on the frontier of the British empire.[41]

The appearance of the fort at this time is revealed by two contemporary accounts. On October 6, 1766, Captain Harry Gordon of the Royal Engineers, sent on a voyage down the Mississippi to gain information on Spanish activities, forts, settlements, and river data, came finally to Natchez and recorded his impressions in his journal.[42] Nearly two months

---

[40]The selection of the name Panmure by which to designate this Natchez fort is somewhat mystifying. Although Dunbar Rowland states that this name was given "in honor of the Minister of George III" (M.P.A., Engl., 9n), this explanation is not entirely satisfactory. There is a possibility that the fort was named for a distinguished contemporary military figure, William Maule (1699-1782), who after 1743 was known as the Earl of Panmure of Forth. He served in Marlborough's campaigns, and after commanding successively the 25th Foot, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, and the Scots Greys, Panmure attained to the rank of general in 1770. Sir James Balfour Paul, ed., The Scots Peerage Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland Containing an Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of That Kingdom [8 volumes] (Edinburgh, 1904-1911), VII, 1-27. Thus there may exist more than coincidence in the fact that this fort was first formally occupied for Great Britain by a detachment of the Scots Fusiliers, or 21st Regiment of Foot, one of whose leaders in these years was the First Earl of Panmure of Forth.

[41]Letter Book of George Morgan in a voyage down the Mississippi River, November 21 - December 18, 1766, particularly the entry for December 11 [copy in Illinois State Historical Library], Alvord and Carter, New Régime, 444-445.

[42]Journal of Captain H. Gordon, May 8 - Dec. 6, 1766, ibid., 302-303.

after Gordon's visit to Natchez George Morgan[43] stopped at Natchez and he, too, recorded a description of it in his journal. By using both accounts it is possible to obtain a fair idea of the appearance of Fort Panmure at the beginning of its thirteen-year existence as a British post.

Both travellers agree that the fort was situated on a height. While Morgan estimated the elevation of the fort above the level of the river at three hundred feet, and its distance from the water as five hundred and ninety yards, Gordon considered the fortification to lie fully three-quarters of a mile from the Mississippi. From its position on the hilltop Gordon observed that as the fort ". . . cannot command the [river] Craft that lays under the Bank, a Look out for a Serj[ean]ts or Corporels Guard must be built for that Purpose." Morgan was impressed by the inferior quality of the water supply for the garrison, and the dangerously exposed position of the springs upon which they had either to rely, or else to descend to the river; Morgan reported the recent discovery of a second vein of water three hundred yards below the fort in the direction of the Mississippi.

The fort, although dilapidated, was not in the wretched condition that Farmar and Kerlérec thought it to be. Gordon reported:

---

[43]George Morgan (1743-1810), land speculator, Indian agent, Revolutionary agent in the West, entered partnership with mercantile firm of Baynton and Wharton at Philadelphia in 1763; about 1765 he toured the Illinois Country to investigate possibilities of supplying Indian trade goods and provisions to the British posts; interested in the Indiana Company, 1768-1798; U. S. Indian agent and colonel with duties as deputy commissary general of purchases in the West, 1776-1779; founded colony at New Madrid, 1779. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Dictionary of American Biography [21 volumes] (New York, 1928-1937), XIII, 169-170 (hereafter cited as D.A.B.); Max Savelle, George Morgan, Colony Builder (New York, 1932), passim (hereafter cited as Savelle, Morgan).

> The 6th Octr. we visited the Fort at the Natchez. A Detachment of Sixty Men of the 21st Regiment had come up to this Place six Days before. They found the Fort in a repairable State. The Parapet made of Cypress hewn Timber, was only deficient in one Side of Five which is its Figures -- several of the Walls of the Houses and some of the Roofs were entire, and the Bridge, altho not very sound served by being a little supported. It was lucky this Condition was such; had it been otherwise, the Want of either Artificers materials or Tools, would have put the Detachment to great Inconvenience.[44]

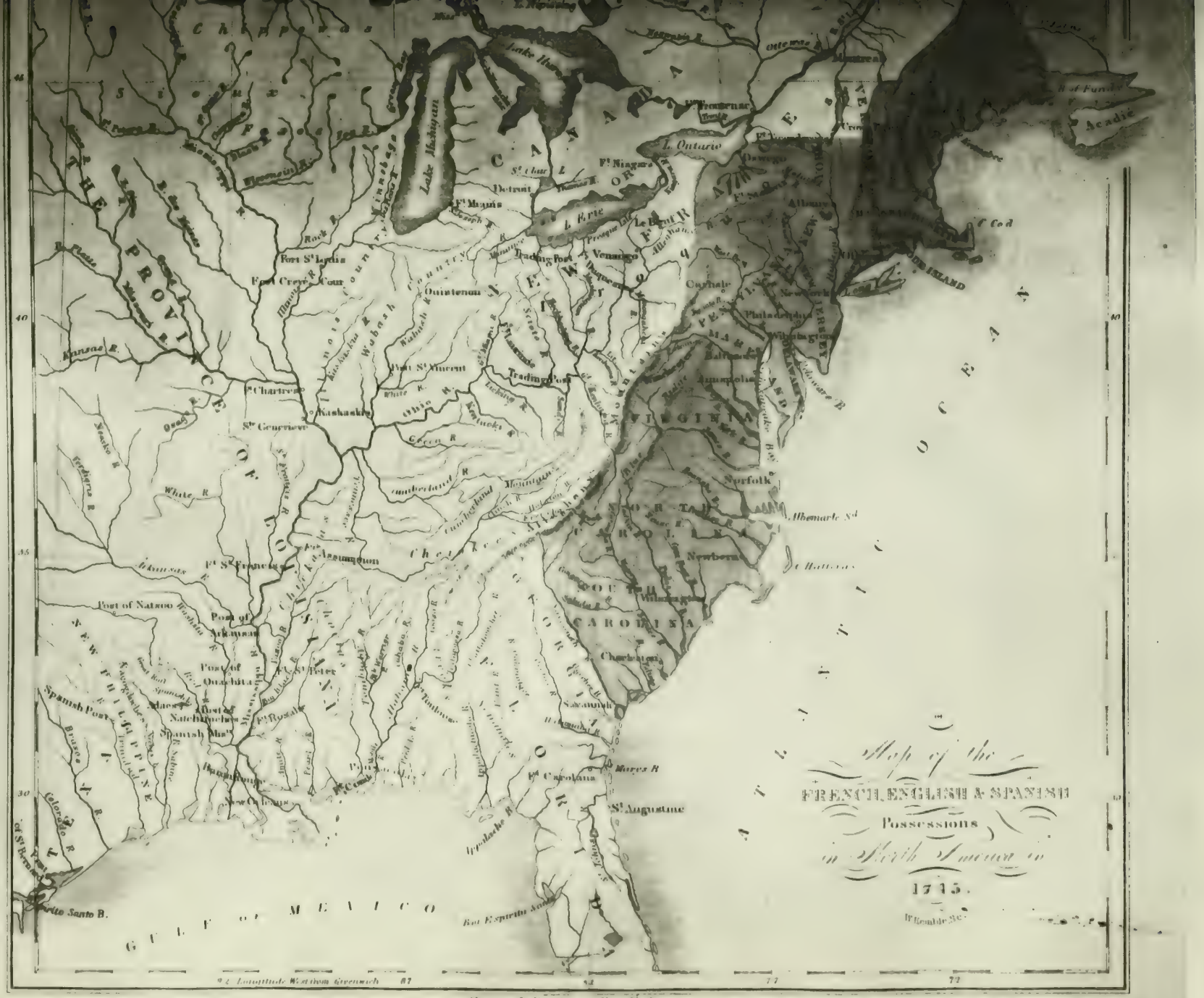
According to Morgan's information, "This Fort was new built [rebuilt] by the French in the Year 1759 & deserted by them immediately after the late Treaty of Peace. . ."[45]

Such was the condition and appearance of the "neat small Fort," as Morgan termed it, when after three years of effort the British forces finally established a garrison there to protect that portion of their western frontier.

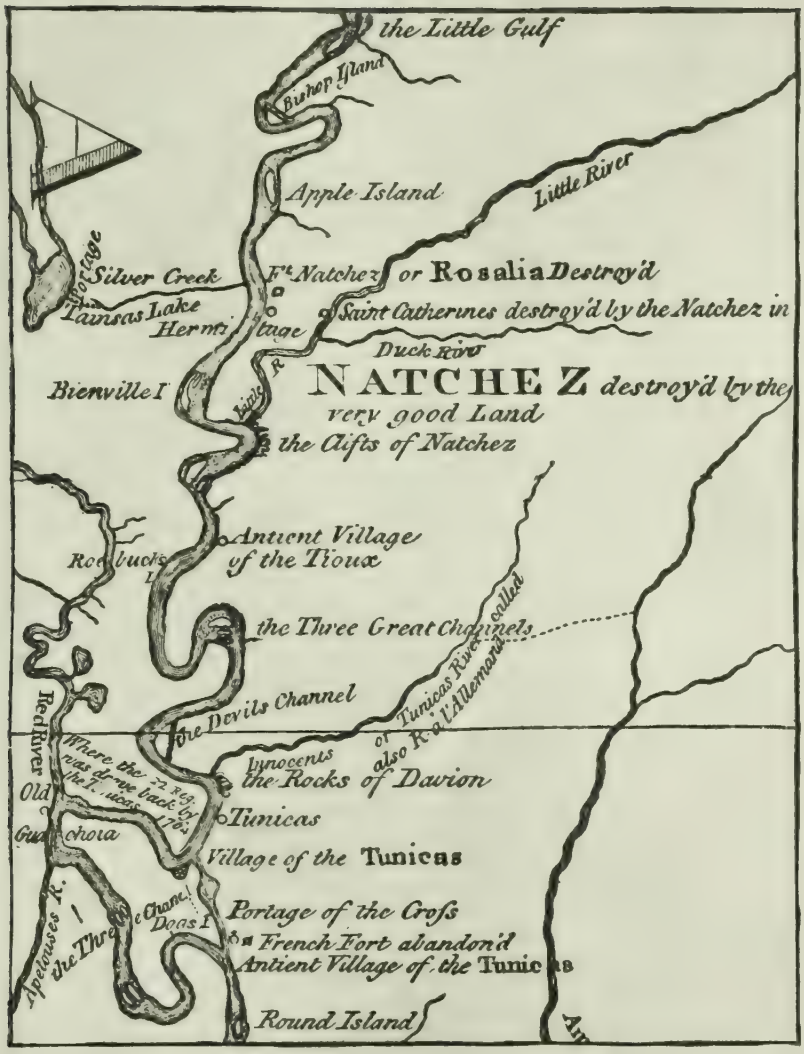
---

[44] Journal of Captain H. Gordon, in loc. cit.

[45] Letter Book of George Morgan. . ., in loc. cit.



Harper & Brothers, New York.



[From *The Course of the Mississippi, by Lieutenant Ross, improved from the Surveys of the French*, London, 1775. It shows the point where Loftus was driven back.]

PLAN OF FORT ROSALIA.

Chapter II

THE PERIOD OF INDECISION, 1767-1768

The story of British colonial policy as it concerns the western defenses of West Florida is indeed difficult to follow. Actually, there existed more than one colonial policy: the policy of the provincial government, rather uniformly interested in maintaining its frontier outposts in as strong a condition as possible; the policy of the home government, determined by aims and personalities and party affiliations of the individuals who occupied key positions in the departments having control over the affairs of West Florida; and the policy of the British Army in North America, its leaders not heedless of the pressure exerted upon it both from Pensacola and from London.[1]

---

[1]The writer is indebted for his views on the general field of British colonial policy in America to Clarence Walworth Alvord, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics [:] A Study of the Trade, Land Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism Culminating in the American Revolution [2 volumes] (Cleveland, 1917) (hereafter cited as Alvord, Miss. Vall.).

As early as 1754 the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, known more commonly as the Board of Trade,[2] under the leadership of Lord Halifax[3] concluded that the building and garrisoning of frontier forts should be a colonial responsibility.[4] Upon Halifax's resignation from the presidency of the Board of Trade in 1761, its importance waned, and it became subordinate to the power of the Earl of Egremont,[5] who as Secretary of State for the Southern Department, which included West Florida, favored the maintenance of garrisons in frontier posts to overawe the western Indians and hold in subjugation the newly acquired European population of Florida and Louisiana. To enable him to formulate policies, Egremont requested the commander in chief of the American army to furnish him with information concerning forts, defences, and the like.[6] Whether the plan finally worked out for maintaining 10,000 men under arms in America was chiefly the handiwork of Egremont or of Welbore Ellis, the none too

---

[2]Created in 1696 by William III "for promoting the trade of our kingdom and for inspecting and improving our plantations in America and elsewhere;" virtually a board of inquiry and report. See Arthur Herbert Basye, The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Commonly Known as the Board of Trade, 1748-1782 (New Haven, 1925).

[3]George Montagu Dunk, second Earl of Halifax (1716-1771); president of the Board of Trade, 1748-1756, 1757-1761; Secretary of State, 1762, 1771; affiliated with the Leicester House group in British politics. D.N.B., VI, 199-201; Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 114 ff.

[4]Ibid., I, 117.

[5]Sir Charles Wyndham, second Earl of Egremont (1710-1763); Secretary of State for the Southern Department, 1761, as a successor to William Pitt. A Tory in extraction, Egremont was dominated by Grenville in politics. D.N.B., XXI, 1155-1158; Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 124 ff.

[6]Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 125-126.

brilliant Secretary at War, it is certain that a major portion of the credit for its formation belongs to Sir Jeffery Amherst,[7] Commander in Chief of the British forces in North America. Amherst had the responsibility of distributing the troops among the many army posts, including several in the Mississippi Valley. In England it was generally understood that the cost of maintaining these establishments for the first year only would be defrayed by the government, and afterward by the various interested colonies.[8]

On November 17, 1763, Gage succeeded Amherst as Commander in Chief,[9] only three months after Egremont's death and Halifax's succession to the important secretaryship of state for the southern department.[10]

The matter of a policy concerning the maintenance of forts and garrisons in the West arose during the brief[11] ministry of the Marquis of Rockingham,[12] who belonged to the "Old Whig" faction. In his cabinet General Henry S. Conway[13] was Secretary of State for the Southern Department.

---

[7]Jeffery Amherst, Baron Amherst (1717-1797), commander-in-chief of American forces, 1758-1763; governor general of America, 1760; governor of Virginia, 1768, and of Guernsey, 1770; general, 1778; field marshal, 1796. D.N.B., I, 357-359.

[8]Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 130-132.

[9]Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 1.

[10]Ibid., I, 1n.

[11]1765-1766

[12]Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2d Marquis of Rockingham (1730-1782), formed cabinet 1765 in which he held portfolios as Lord of the Treasury and Member of Privy Council; D.N.B., XX, 959-962.

[13]Henry Seymour Conway (1721-1795), M.P., 1741-1784; captain-lieut., with rank of Lieut. col., 1741; lieut. gen., 1759; Sec. of State, Southern Department, 1765-1766, and in Northern Department, 1766-1768; lieutenant general of Ordinance, 1767; governor & captain Isle of Jersey, 1773; general, 1772; commander-in-chief, 1782. D.N.B., IV, 976-982.

brilliant success of his, it is generally agreed that a major portion of the credit for this campaign belongs to Sir Jeffrey Amherst,[7] Commander in Chief of the British forces in North America. Amherst had the responsibility of distributing the troops among the many army posts, including several in the Mississippi Valley. In England it was generally understood that the cost of maintaining these establishments for the first year only would be defrayed by the government, and afterward by the various interested colonies.[8]

On November 17, 1763, Gage succeeded Amherst as commander in chief.[9] Only three months [illegible] Amherst's [illegible] and [illegible] accession [illegible] [illegible].[10]

The matter of a policy concerning the maintenance of forts and garrisons in the West arose during the brief[11] ministry of the Marquis of Rockingham,[12] who belonged to the "Old Whig" faction. In this cabinet Henry S. Conway[13] was Secretary of State for the Southern Department.

---

[7] Jeffrey Amherst, Baron Amherst (1717-1797), [illegible] commander-in-chief of [illegible], 1758-1763; [illegible] governor of [illegible], 1763, [illegible].

[8] Alvord, Miss. [illegible], I, [illegible].

[9] [illegible]

[10] Ibid., I, 11.

[11] [illegible]

[12] Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquis of Rockingham (1730-1782), [illegible]

[13] Henry Seymour Conway (1721-1795), [illegible] Southern Department, 1765-1766, and [illegible] Northern Department, 1766-1768; [illegible]

Unstable and indecisive,[14] Conway was opposed to schemes of Western colonization, which carried in their train measures designed to protect the exposed settlements.[15] On the other hand, the Rockingham ministry contained a firm friend of the colonies--Lord Dartmouth, President of the Board of Trade.[16] As a proponent of Old Whig principles, Dartmount conscientiously felt that the colonies should bear the expense of maintaining the forts that protected them; the repeal of the Stamp Act in the spring of 1766 further convinced the Old Whig element that the colonies in America no longer deserved the protection afforded them by the maintenance of frontier posts and garrisons, and a part of Cabinet policy became the advocacy of a withdrawal of troops from the West.[17]

The member of the Rockingham ministry who seems to have had the most clearly defined plan for the defense of the western frontier was the Secretary at War, Lord Barrington.[18]

---

[14] Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 234.

[15] Ibid., I, 242n.

[16] William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth (1731-1801), pres. Bd. of Trade, 1765-1766; mem. Privy Council, 1765; Secretary of State for colonies and president Board of Trade, 1772-1775; D.N.B., XI, 858-860.

[17] Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 238.

[18] William Wildman Shute, second Viscount Barrington (1717-1793), Privy Councillor and Sec. at War, 1755. J. L. Garvin, ed.-in-chief, Encyclopaedia Britannica [14th edition, 24 volumes.] (London and New York, 1929-1932), IV, 143 (hereafter cited as Ency. Brit.); Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 246 ff, wherein he is characterized by his contemporaries as "a frivolous little minded man," and "hated by the army."

As early as October, 1764, he was in communication with Gage in New York,[19] securing unofficially his views in an effort to draw up a "Plan for the West" that would attract general support in the Cabinet. Gage wrote him that in accordance with the plan which was first adopted, ". . . a Post Seem to have been prepared for every Company of the American Army, so that One Hundred Men could not have taken the Field on any Account, without leaving some Place Unguarded . . ." Gage, too, had been thinking seriously of ". . . the Expence Attending the Support of the Forts, as well as the inability of drawing any Number of Troops together on an Emergency, from the Numbers that have been required to Garrison the Forts . . ." He planned to evacuate many of the forts in the spring of 1765, as peace was being established with the Indians, and of those forts which he thought proper to retain, he planned to reduce the garrisons.[20] As Gage saw it, only the maintenance of Indian trade in furs and trade goods would justify the expense of keeping forts in the West, and he favored a plan for reducing the garrisons of such forts as were indispensable.[21] In line with his policy of economy, Gage reported that

> No Works in the Engineer's Department but such as are absolutely necessary for the immediate safety and welfare of the troops are undertaken. . . The Forts and posts are in general built of perishable materials, and will want constant repairs; as the Works tumble, I only propose stockading them, and making such repairs as shall render them defensible against Musketry and Indian Attacks.[22]

---

[19]Carter, Gage Corresp., II, 318.

[20]Gage to Barrington, New York, Dec. 18, 1765, Carter, Gage Corresp. II, 318.

[21]Report of the Forts in North America. . ., enclosed with Gage to Barrington, Dec. 18, 1765, ibid., II, 319-323.

[22]Gage to Welbore Ellis, New York, Apr. 1, 1765, Carter, Gage Corresp., II, 273.

As early as October, 1786, he was in communication with Gage in New York,[29] assuming unofficially his views in an effort to "know if Virginia has any boat" that would attract general support in the Ohio. Gage wrote him that in accordance with the plan which was "just adopted, . . . I feel been to have been prepared for every Company of the American Army, so that the Hundred Men could not have taken the field on any account, without leaving very ill consequences . . . Sorry am, that Illinois authority of . . . the Spanish Ministry will support of Virginia, in the Instability of forming any Number of Troops together on an Emergency, from the Backwoods that have been removed on purpose the Spanish . . . ."[30] Gage's present to assemble many of the Forts in the spring of 1786, as proof was taken negotiations with the Indians, and of those forts which he thought proper to retain, he planned to reduce the garrisons.[31] As Gage saw it, only the northwest of Illinois should be left with great great small details the course of keeping forts in the west, and he favored a plan for reducing the garrisons of such forts as were unnecessary. In line with his policy it however, Gage reported that

> [illegible] necessary for the immediate defence of the frontiers are [illegible] . . . The Forts are, [illegible] of general [illegible] of political material, and will [illegible] as the [illegible] rubble. Finally proposes [illegible] . . . [illegible] Indian [illegible].[32]

---

[29] [illegible] Gage [illegible], 17, 18.

[30] [illegible] Gage [illegible], 17, 1787, [illegible] 11, 18.

[31] [illegible] in North America . . . enclosed with Gage to [illegible] Oct. 17, 1786, [illegible], 11, 88-89.

[32] [illegible] Gage [illegible] 17, [illegible].

Gage informed Barrington that he felt that the two regiments in West Florida might safely be reduced to one full regiment stationed at Pensacola, from which one hundred men could be sent to Mobile. Gage remarked,

> Governor Johnstone having had Liberty to Erect what Posts he thought proper in his Government, has been erecting Fort Bute on a point where the Mississippi runs into the Ibbeville. And is beginning a second Post at a Place called the Nauchées, some Leagues higher up the said River. All that can be said of these Posts is, if we can command a free and uninterrupted Communication with the Misisippi from Mobile, in Spite of those who are Masters of New Orleans, they may be usefull to prevent them from coming to trade and tamper with the Savages inhabiting the Country ceded to Great Britain; they will also be a check upon some small Tribes who infest the Navigation of the Misisippi and protect the Traders from Attacks. But if it shall be at length certain, that the English cannot enter the Missisippi, but with the consent, and perhaps Assistance of the French or Spaniards, whichever shall possess New Orleans; Those Posts may be said, in Case of a Quarrell, to be caught in a Trap: No visible means appearing, by which they could be supported from any part.[23]

Barrington's "Plan for the West," submitted to the Cabinet on May 10, 1766, derived at least its main strength from Gage's detailed reports. In this plan Barrington advocated that the West be retained as a great Indian reservation; that no frontier forts were really needed in this area, as the French had already been driven forth; that forts were unnecessary for maintaining trade among the Indians; that such garrisons as were still retained should be maintained there at the expense of the colonies protected; and that the military forces in America should be withdrawn from small outposts and concentrated in large eastern bases from which they could be sent out when need might arise.[24] Easily reminiscent of Gage's

---

[23]Report of some of the Forts that were omitted in the General Report of the Forts transmitted to Lord Barrington in December 1765 [inclosure in a letter dated Jan. 8, 1766], ibid., II, 323-325.

[24]This summary of Barrington's plan appears in Alvord, Miss. Vall.,I 249-251; the "Plan" is printed in Alvord and Carter, New Régime, 234-243.

report, Barrington's remarks included: "I understand that Gov[erno]r Johnstone has been authorized to erect what Posts he thinks proper in his Government, a permission which ought I conceive to be immediately revoked. He has accordingly been erecting Fort Bute . . .& is beginning a second at a place called the Nanchees."[25]

So precarious was the position of the Rockingham ministry at the time this report was made that they made no effort to put Barrington's plan in effect; in July, 1766, the Cabinet was dismissed and William Pitt[26] organized a ministry.[27]

---

[25] Ibid., 241. Barrington here touched upon a conflict in authority between the civil and military officials in West Florida which for several years caused friction. Apparently the governor's commission was phrased carelessly, thereby justifying the position taken by Johnstone and maintained as late as 1771 by a successor in office, Peter Chester, who, quoting from his commission, declared that it "has given and Granted unto me full power and authority, by and with the advice and consent of His Council to erect raise and build. . .such and so many Forts Castles Cities Boroughs Towns and Fortifications as I by the advice aforesaid shall judge necessary. . ." Peter Chester to Earl of Hillsborough, Pensacola, August 29, 1771, in Mrs. [Eron Opha Moore (Gregory)] Dunbar Rowland, "Peter Chester, Third Governor of the Province of British West Florida, Under British Dominion, 1770-1781," Mississippi Historical Society Publications, V (Centenary Series, 1925), 90-92 (hereafter this set will be cited as P.M.H.S.). Gage felt that the disposition of troops in West Florida was his exclusive function. Gage to Haldimand, September 6, 1767, mentioned in Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 285.

[26] William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham (1708-1778), cornet in the army, 1731; member of Parliament, 1735; Secretary of State for the Southern Department, 1756-1757, 1757-1761; created Viscount Pitt and Earl of Chatham upon becoming Prime Minister, 1766; incapacitated by illness, 1767-1768; resigned, 1768. D.N.B., XV, 1240-1253.

[27] Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 252-265.

In the Chatham ministry the Board of Trade was subordinated to the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, a position held by Lord Shelburne,[28] the liberal but cautious statesman whose policies in colonial matters had greatest weight during the succeeding two years. Resolutely determined to secure as much information as possible on the needs of the colonies for military protection along the Mississippi, Shelburne secured comments from Amherst, Gage, and many others on the utility of forts on the western frontier. Amherst he found to be genuinely in favor of maintaining a system of forts in the West as a protection against foreign encroachments and Indian depredations,[29] while Gage, once an advocate of western expansion, but ever on the alert to seize upon the most popular position, now regarded Western forts as possessing but slight value in protecting trade; thus the Barrington Plan found in Amherst an opponent, and in Gage an advocate.[30]

In spite of Gage's opposition to the maintenance of frontier forts, the provincial legislative body of West Florida thus complained to the Board of Trade on November 22, 1766, barely two months after Captain Rhea and his Scotch Fusiliers had garrisoned Fort Panmure:

> There are other Fortifications, which are extremely necessary, and have been begun, in hopes of some decisive Resolution of Government, but they now lye equally useless and neglected; such are

---

[28] William Petty, Lord Shelburne, and later Marquis of Lansdowne (1737-1805) President Board of Trade, 1762; Secretary of State, Southern Department, 1766-1768; Secretary of State, Home Department, 1782; Prime Minister, 1782-1783; Major General, 1765; Lieutenant General, 1772; General, 1783. D.N.B., XV, 1005-1013; Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 194 ff.

[29] Ibid., I, 310.

[30] Gage to Shelburne, New York, Feb. 22, 1767, Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 121-124.

Fort Bute, and the Natches; two of the most essential Posts for the Wealth and Prosperity of the Province, as well as for its protection as a Frontier.

. . . . . .

. Fort Natches ought to be put on a very respectable Condition, as well for pushing the Settlements in those parts which are so perfectly adapted for Corn, Wine, and Oil, as for keeping the Chactaws in subordination.

. . . . . .

[And] To compleat the Fortifications at Natches [the sum of] £ 4,000 [is suggested as probably sufficient].[31]

The protection of this exposed western frontier, so ripe for settlement, continued to engross the attention of provincial officials, even though there occurred changes in provincial personnel.

On January 10, 1767, Governor Johnstone presided over his last council meeting in West Florida before sailing for England on what technically was a leave of absence,[32] but which the month following developed into a permanent withdrawal in disgrace.[33] The lieutenant governor, his successor as administrator of the affairs of the province almost without

---

[31]Mississippi Provincial Archives, English Dominion, Transcripts, copied from originals in British Public Records Office, London, and now available in ten folio volumes in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson. This particular document appears in Volume II of these manuscript volumes, and its citation as "(MS)MPA, Engl., II, 622-623, 624, 633" indicates the style succeeding references to these transcripts will take.

[32]John Ellis to John Pownall, Nov. 22, 1769, (MS)MPA, Engl., III, 454; M.P.A., Engl., xviii.

[33]On February 19, 1767, Shelburne wrote Sir William Johnson, Indian Superintendant in the Northern Department, that Johnstone had been dismissed for commencing hostilities against the Creek Indians. [Hist. MSS Comm., Rept. on MSS of T. S. Raffles, 8th Rept., Pt. I, 474] Discussed in Clinton N. Howard, "Governor Johnstone in West Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly, XVII (Apr., 1939), 281-303; this specific discussion appears on page 303 (hereafter this periodical will be cited as F.H.Q.).

interruption[34] until November, 1769, was Montfort Browne,[35] whose policies with respect to the maintenance of a fort at Natchez were even more pronounced than those of his predecessor.

At about the same time, Colonel William Tayler, who had been acting brigadier in charge of the Southern Department of the American forces, was replaced in March, 1767, by Brigadier General Frederick Haldimand.[36]

The policy of the army with respect to the military establishments in West Florida remained unchanged. Gage's list of February 22, 1767, in giving the distribution of troops in America, shows that one regiment each of artillery and infantry was assigned to this province. Of the nine companies of infantry in the colony, two were at Fort Panmure. It is

---

[34]Governor John Eliot was sent out from England as a regularly appointed governor to succeed Johnstone. He arrived April 2, 1769, in the province, and exactly two months later he died suddenly under mysterious circumstances. Upon his death the lieutenant governor once more became acting governor.--Montfort Browne to Hillsborough, May 13, 1769, (MS)MPA, Engl., III, 323-324; Clinton N. Howard, "Colonial Pensacola: The British Period," F.H.Q., XIX (Oct., 1940, Jan., Apr., 1941), 109-127, 246-269, 368-401 [specifically, p. 261] (hereafter cited as Howard, "Colonial Pensacola").

[35]Montfort Browne, named lieutenant governor in the list of promotions for 1764, arrived in West Florida in January, 1766; he served as Acting Governor from Johnstone's departure shortly after January 10, 1767, to April 2, 1769, when John Eliot arrived as Governor, and from Eliot's death, May 2, until near the close of 1769; Captain General, Bahama Islands, 1776.

[36]Sir Frederick Haldimand (1718-1791) born in Switzerland, Haldimand served as soldier of fortune in various European armies; lieutenant colonel, British Royal Americans, 1756; military lieutenant governor, Canadian Three Rivers District, 1762-1764; brigadier general, Southern District (the Floridas), 1767-1772; commander-in-chief, Boston, 1773-1774; governor of Quebec, 1778-1786; major general in America, 1772; general in America, 1776; lieutenant general in Army, 1777. W. Stewart Wallace, ed., Encyclopedia of Canada [6 volumes] (Toronto, 1935-1937) III, 98-99; D.N.B., 900-901.

presumable that the artillery command was scattered among the various posts.[37]

In replying to Shelburne's request of December 11, 1766, for information, Gage replied on April 3 of the year following that in accordance with a plan for ". . .putting as few Troops as possible in detached Posts, and keeping as large Bodys as can be collected in the Most Material Places; that a respectable Force may be assembled on Emergencys. . .," he had drawn up a new proposal for the distribution of troops in America.[38] This proposed distribution, as far as it affected West Florida, envisioned a reduction in the provincial strength from two regiments to one, although still two companies were assigned to Natchez.[39]

Gage explained to Shelburne:

> The posting of one Regiment only in West-Florida is on a Supposition that the said Regiment shall be compleat, tho' the greater or lesser Force to be Maintained in this Province, must depend upon the Views and Intentions of Government respecting it. The Post of the Natche's is reported to be of Consequence, chiefly for gaining an Influence over the Savages in those Parts; which is looked upon as very Material.[40]

---

[37]General Distribution of His Majesty's Forces in North America [.] February 22, 1767, Alvord and Carter, New Régime, 512-513; a slightly variant list appears in Carter, Gage Corresp., II, 409-410.

[38]Gage to Shelburne, New York, April 3, 1767, ibid., I, 124-128.

[39]The other companies were situated thus: Fort Bute, 1; Mobile, 2; Pensacola and Tombecbe, 4. Proposed Distribution of Troops, April 3, 1767, Alvord and Carter, New Régime, 551.

[40]Gage to Shelburne, Apr. 3, 1767, Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 125.

In June General Haldimand wrote Gage of the two forts which the Spanish had established on their side of the boundary quite close to Forts Bute and Panmure. Evidently Haldimand suggested to Gage the advisability of establishing at Natchez a fixed military command, which through the cultivation of small gardens could be partially self-supporting and thus save considerable expense to the government in subsistence. A few years earlier Gage, himself, had advocated the creation of military colonies to furnish this type of frontier protection,[41] but now the idea no longer appealed to him. Of Haldimand's suggestion Gage wrote as follows to Shelburne:

> The Settling a fixed Military Colony at the Natche's should such a Project be deemed expedient and proper, might in time answer the Ends proposed by the Brigadier [Haldimand] of becoming Masters of the Mississippi; but from Appearance, it could hardly succeed, by sending a Regiment thither to be turned into Farmers; relieving that Regiment at Stated times, and turning over the Care of the Settlement from one Commanding Officer to another. And unless we could at all times command a free and uninterrupted Communication with the Mississippi, the same Difficultys now set forth in the victualing and otherwise supporting, the small Post we now have at the Natche's, must also impede the supplying such Colony with the Manufactures they would stand in need of; and what Returns they would be able to make, to pay the Price of such Manufactures, is not easy to foresee.[42]

In March, 1767, Townshend,[43] Chancellor of the Exchequer, by a political trick forced Shelburne to set forth his colonial policy in order to prevent the adoption in the Cabinet of Townshend's determination to

---

[41]Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 306-307, 319.

[42]Gage to Shelburne, New York, Aug. 31, 1767, Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 149-151.

[43]Charles Townshend (1725-1767), M.P., 1747; employed in the Board of Trade under Halifax, 1748, and President 1763; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1766. D.N.B., XIX, 1044-1047.

abandon the West by withdrawing British troops from its frontiers and forts--a rash exaggeration of the Barrington Plan.[44] Shelburne patiently explained that the government needed to secure more accurate information before it could proceed with any change in plan; the one in operation had been tried for four years and was working passably well, and it had been adopted by an economy-minded cabinet on the recommendation of a competent military commander; far better, he urged, to retain the plan found actually workable than to substitute an untried plan that might prove more expensive than the one in use.[45]

Shelburne spoke with sufficient force to prevent the abandonment of the existing system of frontier posts and garrisons; nevertheless, he saw clearly that the time had arrived for him to present a new plan for regulating colonial expansion in the West. This plan he announced at a meeting of the cabinet on September 11, 1767. He saw no way to restrict the westward surge of land-hungry colonists forcing their way across the mountains into the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys beyond. In fact, this westward movement of population, far from being a harmful influence to the British Government, was rather a benefit, as it postponed indefinitely the time when the American population would turn from an agricultural to a predominantly manufacturing existence, in competition to British mercantilism. Shelburne advocated the creation of new colonies in the Upper Mississippi, as these would draw off surplus population from the older colonies, and ultimately they would be able to furnish cheaper supplies

---

[44]Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 328 ff.

[45]Ibid., I, 333-334.

for the British troops in America; by supplanting the Indians, these new colonies would render forts needless. For the present, however, Shelburne recommended the maintenance of eight interior forts in America, among them being one at Natchez and one on the Iberville River.[46]

On the whole, the cabinet approved Shelburne's plan, even though they recommended slight changes; upon their order the plan was turned over to the Board of Trade for study and recommendations. Nevertheless, the only tangible result to emerge before Shelburne was superseded in his direct charge of colonial affairs in America was an order for a clear definition of Indian boundary lines in the West.[47]

In order to appease new elements of the coalition cabinet at this time, on January 20, 1768, the office of Secretary of State for the Southern Department was stripped of its jurisdiction over American colonial affairs and these formed into a third secretariat, under the charge of Lord Hillsborough.[48]

It had been hoped that Hillsborough would prove to be a happy medium between extreme radicalism and extreme reactionalism; however, his policies reflected the attitudes of stand-pat Whiggism.[49]

---

[46] Ibid., I, 345-348.

[47] Ibid., I, 350-358

[48] Wills Hill, second Viscount Hillsborough and first Marquis of Downshire (1718-1793); Earl of Hillsborough, Irish peerage, 1751; president Board of Trade and Foreign Plantations, 1763-1765, 1766; Secretary of State for the colonies, 1768-1772; D.N.B., IX, 878-880; Alvord, Miss. Vall., II, 16, 20 ff.

[49] Ibid., II, 20, 25.

Finally, on March 7, 1768, the Board of Trade presented its views on Shelburne's colonial plan. Favorable to much of it, the Board nevertheless stated in its policy concerning western military garrisons

> . . . that it will be in the highest degree expedient to reduce all such posts in the Interior Country, as are not immediately subservient to the protection of the Indian Commerce and to the defeating of French and Spanish Machinations among the Indians, or which altho in some Degree useful for these purposes cannot be maintained but at an expense disproportioned to the degree of their utility.[50]

This report was taken under advisement by the Cabinet on March 18; abandonment or retention of the southern forts was left to the discretion of Gage, but the single regiment intended for West Florida was instead ordered by Gage to be sent to East Florida.[51]

As early as February, 1768, Acting Governor Browne was urging in official dispatches from Pensacola the encouragement of immigration into the fertile but comparatively unpopulated Mississippi River settlements. He pointed out that the grant of a single 20,000-acre tract to "a certain Noble Lord" in the Natchez country had created great dissatisfaction and had served as a deterrant to many industrious farmers from the northern colonies who otherwise would flock to this region. As means for promoting immigration Browne advocated laying out a town in the Natchez country to attract new settlers; in addition, he suggested such tangible encouragement

---

[50]Quoted by Chester in his letter to Hillsborough, Pensacola, Sept. 26, 1770, (MS)MPA, Engl., III, 460; Rowland, "Peter Chester," in loc. cit., 21; Lucy Mae McMillan, Natchez, 1763-1779, MS, M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va., 1938, 22 (hereafter cited as McMillan, Natchez); Alvord, Miss. Vall., II, 27.

[51]Ibid., II, 30-31.

[illegible] on March 7, 1798, the Board of Trade presented its [illegible] colonial plan. Favorable to such as it, the Board [illegible] stated in its policy concerning western military [illegible]

> [illegible] that it will be in the utmost degree expedient [illegible] also parts in the interior country, to [illegible] to the maintaining of the [illegible] to the maintaining of forces and [illegible] along the lines, or other [illegible] [illegible] forces [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] was taken under advisement by the Cabinet on March 13, alarmed [illegible] of the authorities, was left to the discretion of [illegible] Florida was [illegible] [illegible] to be part of East Florida.[illegible]

[illegible] from Pensacola. The commissioners of the Spanish Indies [illegible] but only relatively unconcerned Mississippi River settlers. [illegible] that the great [illegible] to "a considerable [illegible] in the Interior country, but [illegible] great Spanish [illegible] [illegible] as a deterrent to any Indian [illegible] from the southern [illegible] the otherwise would flock to their banner. In order for [illegible] [illegible] Spanish [illegible] and a town in the Spanish country to [illegible] settlers; in addition, he suggested [illegible] arrangements

---

[illegible] Letter to [illegible], Pensacola, [illegible]. [illegible] Spanish [illegible] in [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] Memorial [illegible] to [illegible], [illegible] Papers, [illegible] Vol. II.

[illegible] Vol. II, [illegible].

as a loan of provisions for the first year in the new land and an exemption from quit-rents for a ten-year period.[52] Furthermore, Browne pointed out,

> . . . at present there is another Political necessity for taking these Steps, for a great Part of the immense Indian Trade which comes from near Detroit down on our Side & a Thousand Miles North of the Islenois on the Mississippi side principally centres at New Orleans. This . . . is an Object worthy of your Consideration and that cannot be Remedy'd at present, but by the Erecting of a Town, by this means the English Merchants will immediately settle there, & Engross and intercept the valuable Trade. . .[53]

By the time Browne's letter could reach its destination in London, the entire matter of a colonial policy had been decided, and adversely, from the standpoint of officials in the remote province of West Florida, who were to learn in August of decisions reached in the preceding March.

On April 15, 1768, Hillsborough thus announced to Gage in New York the results of the new cabinet policy:

> His Majesty has not failed . . . to give due Attention to Preparations which have been made with regard to Establishments on the Rivers Mississippi, Ohio, and Illinois; But as His Majesty has Doubts concerning the Utility of Establishments in such remote Situations, which consequently cannot be kept up but at an immense Expense, It is the King's Pleasure that You should report your Opinion with regard to the Continuance of any of the Forts in those Situations . . . As to all other Posts & Establishments, as well in the interior Country, as in the settled Parts of the Colonies . . . which You shall think not absolutely necessary for Public Safety in general, His Majesty trusts, that the present State of His Colonies . . . may with Propriety admit of their entire Reduction, and that the Fifteen Battalions employed for the Service of North America, may be stationed in large Bodies, in the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, East Florida, and the middle Colonies, to serve effectually upon any Emergency whatever. [In such a situation,]

---

[52] At this time the terms for land in West Florida were a half-penny per acre annually, beginning two years after receiving the grant. Alvord, Miss. Vall., I, 283n.

[53] Browne to [Hillsborough], Feb. 1, 1768, (MS)MPA, Engl., III, 25-27.

the Duties of the Posts upon the Lakes, in Newfoundland, and in West Florida, [would be] performed by Detachments from the principal Stations. . .

As to the Manner of disposing of the Forts from which the Garrisons will be withdrawn, it appears. . . to depend so much upon the Situation of each Fort, and other local Circumstances, as not to admit of any general Rule; For . . . some of these Forts situated on those Passes, thro' which particular Colonies carry on their Commerce with the Savages, may be useful as Truck Houses to those Colonies, and consequently may be put into their Possession for that Purpose; So. . . such of them as You think might be of Service, in Case of any future Operation, may be entrusted to the Care of particular Persons. . . whilst those, which from a change in Circumstances, are rendered altogether useless, may be dismantled, & entirely abandoned.[54]

This letter reached Gage on June 9, and on June 27 he wrote Lieutenant Governor Montfort Browne:

In Consequence of Orders which I have lately Received, I transmit Directions to Brigadier General Haldimand, to withdraw the Troops posted at the Natches and Fort Bute, and to embark the two Regiments in West Florida, except three Companys which the Brigadier will leave at Pensacola & Mobile & proceed with them to St. Augustine.

The Brigadier will Consult with you about the disposal of the Natches and Fort Bute after the Troops shall be withdrawn, whether you would Convert them to Truck Houses or Other Publick uses or whether they should be entirely Dismantled.[55]

The first word to reach West Florida of the radical change in colonial policy was this letter from Gage. On August 15 it was brought to Pensacola aboard one of the three transports which had come to carry off to East Florida all of the 21st and 31st Regiments with the exception of three companies, designed to afford military protection to all that region extending from the Apalachicola to the Mississippi, and from the Iberville

---

[54]Hillsborough to Gage, Whitehall, Apr. 15, 1768, Carter, Gage Corresp. II, 61-66.

[55]Gage to Browne, New York, June 27, 1768, (MS)MPA, Engl.,III, 119.

to the Yazoo. On the day following the delivery of this stunning blow to the province, Browne reported to Hillsborough:

> . . .The distraction the province is in. . . may be easier conceived than Expressed, The Posts at Fort Bute and the Natchez are all calling in, so that the number of poor familys that have spent their little fortunes in coming from other provinces and Establishing themselves on the Mississipi must abandon their plantations and Starve. . .[56]

Evidence is not lacking that this virtual abandonment of West Florida had been a subject of discussion between Gage and Haldimand as early as the preceding December. On December 6, 1767, Haldimand gave as his opinion that two companies would suffice for the protection of West Florida, but Gage decided that a third one might be advantageous in case a new fort were erected at Tangippaho, to guard the eastern approaches to the Iberville River.[57] At least one of the companies to be retained in West Florida was an artillery company, which may not have been counted in the order to Haldimand, as it probably was scattered among the various posts in the province.[58]

In his letter of August 25, Browne reiterated his belief that the establishment of towns at Natchez and the Iberville would result in a rapid increase of settlers there, and so would soon protect themselves and would secure for Great Britain the Indian trade still reaching New Orleans by way of the Mississippi, and worth £ 160,000 sterling annually.

---

[56]Browne to [Hillsborough], Pensacola, Aug. 16, 1768, (MS)MPA, Engl., III, 115.

[57]Gage to Hillsborough, New York, Aug. 18, 1768, Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 187.

[58]Gage to Thomas Bradshaw, Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, New York, Aug. 20, 1768, ibid., II, 483-484.

Browne feared that the removal of garrisons from the province would expose it to almost certain attack by Indians now making peace among themselves.[59] As an enclosure, Browne transmitted a memorial from the legislative body to Hillsborough, which stated, in part:

> Considerable Tracts of Land have been granted in many parts of the Province, particularly on the Mississippi to able Planters, some of whom have at great Expence begun to settle, and others are expected from Virginia, Pensilvania, and elsewhere, who have given security for the Settlement thereof.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> For the Protection of this [foreign and Indian] Trade, and of the Settlers on the Mississippi (the most fertile part of the Province) and securing the Returns of the Furr Trade from the Illinois, it was judged absolutely necessary to fix out Posts on that River, attended with much difficulty and Expence, which measure has been found effectually to answer these purposes.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> This unexpected Order [for the abandonment of the posts at Fts. Panmure and Bute] has justly alarmed the Inhabitants, who apprehend that being left exposed to the Cruel, and Savage disposition of the Numerous Nations of Indians surrounding them they must shortly abandon their Habitations in Order to preserve their Lives. . .[60]

As petitions and memorials began to pour in upon Hillsborough, Gage, and Haldimand, protesting the removal of the troops from West Florida, Hillsborough began to feel that Gage may have been too hasty in deciding to leave so few troops in the province.[61]

Stubbornly determined to give all possible encouragement to the Natchez region, and regardless of what he considered an unwise frontier policy, Browne took immediate action to protect the Mississippi River settlements while awaiting instructions from England. Evidently on good

---

[59] Browne to Hillsborough, Aug. 25, 1768, (MS)MPA, Engl., III, 182.

[60] Ibid., 176-177.

[61] Hillsborough to Gage, Oct. 12 and Dec. 10, Carter, Gage Corresp., II, 75-78, 80-81.

terms with Haldimand, Browne persuaded this officer first to dismantle Fort Bute on the Iberville, near which there were "no Inhabitants of Considerable property settled. . . as yet," and to convey upstream to Fort Panmure for the defense of that section "six field pieces, and ten Swivels [cannon] that remained at Fort Bute with 40 Stand of Arms Amunition & Colours for the defence of the Inhabitants settled at the Natchez, (many of whom have been in the provential service in America and not unacquainted with Garrison duty.)"[62]

Possibly the last appearance of Fort Panmure in the limelight before its garrison was removed in the summer of 1768 took place in January of that year. A boatload of Spanish deserters from the newly-created post of St. Louis far up on the west bank of the Mississippi arrived at Natchez in the midst of winter and sought refuge on British soil. Their stay, however, in this haven was not for long. Lieutenant Lovell, commandant of Fort Panmure, received letters from the Spanish governor and from the French governmental representative at New Orleans requesting that these deserters, guilty under Spanish law of treason, be turned over to the commanding officer of a neighboring Spanish post. Without waiting to consult higher authority, Lovell complied with this requisition. This action brought commendation from the King and probably had good effect in maintaining harmony between Spain and Great Britain at a time when peaceful

---

[62] Browne to [Hillsborough?], Pensacola, Dec. 1, 1768, (MS)MPA, Engl., III, 221-224.

border relations between these powers were particularly needful.[63]

Natchez was in a fairly well protected state after Fort Panmure was garrisoned in the autumn of 1766; already its fertile countryside was beginning to attract a stable population from the older colonies. A radical change in political thought at London completely altered the entire colonial system and brought confusion, uncertainty, and possible ruin to the Natchez region at a time when its prospects had seemed brightest. With the removal of the garrison from Fort Panmure in 1768 prospective settlers at Natchez lost the assurance of adequate protection for their lives and property. Only the pressure of other forces in the regions from which these groups were migrating could overcome the reluctance of these potential settlers to venture into the fallow lands of Natchez from which adequate military protection had been withdrawn.

---

[63]Gage to Shelburne, New York, Apr. 24, 1768, Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 167-171; Hillsborough to Gage, Whitehall, June 11, 1768, ibid., II, 70-71. When recalled to Pensacola late in the summer, the garrison of Fort Panmure probably had the same composition as when John Jennings paused there on July 5. In addition to Lieutenant "Lovewell," the commandant, other officers of the 21st Regiment attached to the garrison were a Lieutenant "Featherstone" (W. Featherston) and an Ensign Petre.--Journal of a trip down the Mississippi River, June 24-Jul. 8, 1768, by John Jennings, in Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter, Trade and Politics, 1767-1769 [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XVI; British Series, Vol. III] (Springfield, 1921), 336-339 (hereafter cited as Alvord and Carter, Trade & Politics).

Chapter III

THE OBSCURE YEARS, 1768-1777

Immediately after the withdrawal of the garrison from Fort Panmure in the summer of 1768, Acting Governor Browne did all in his power to provide at least a minimum of protection to the exposed Natchez settlement. The armament which through Haldimand's cooperation was transferred from Fort Bute up to Natchez could be put to good use in defending the exposed frontier settlement in the hands of the retired soldiers who had become colonists at Natchez.

Still another motive was in Browne's mind when he so vigorously urged the protection of the Natchez post. In his letter to Hillsborough at this time Browne mentioned that the arming of Fort Panmure with the ordnance from Fort Bute ". . . not only secures to us the Peltry, Furrs & Oyle of above Two Thousand Indians of different nations, who every Winter hunt upon our Grounds [i.e., the British lands near Natchez on the east side of the Mississippi], and take shelter under our Fort on purpose to Barter for our Goods, but almost all the Indian Trade on both sides the red river, Arcanzes, Missouri, and Ohio, which has hitherto centered at

N. Orliens. . ." In order to make his plan workable, Browne issued trading licenses to five "persons of property capable of furnishing the Indians and Spaniards with all kinds of European Goods, whose Conduct I shall be answerable for."

As the disposal of the fort structure had been left to the provincial administration, Browne's next comment is highly significant: "I have given the Command of the Fort to Mr Bradly and Mr Fairchild, who I am sure have not at this Juncture less than Seven or Eight Thousand pounds st [erlin]g. worth of goods with them.[1]

"I have this morning My Lord," Browne wrote on December 20, 1768, "recd. pleasing accounts from the Natchez, Everything is quiet there, and a great prospect of a plentifull season for Furrs and peltry, There are some very necessary, (but trifling) repairs to be made to the Fort, I have promised to be answerable for the Expences.--"[2]

Haldimand landed the cannon, ammunition, flags, and other trappings of a military occupation, at Fort Panmure some time during the winter of 1768-1769, when about two thousand Indians were in the vicinity on their annual hunt. The sight of such preparations alarmed the natives and doubtless gave the traders who commanded the fort additional importance in their Indian trade. "[The Indians] at first expressed great surprise

---

[1]Howard has found in some of General Haldimand's correspondence a hint that Haldimand thought that the Governor and his friends wanted the fort maintained for their own benefit. Howard, "Governor Johnstone," 303. The present writer, however, has not found any evidence to substantiate or refute this view.

[2]Browne to [Hillsborough?], Pensacola, Dec. 1, 1768, (MS)MPA, Engl., III, 221-224.

and fear on seeing such preparations;" Browne remarked, "but upon being informed by Mr. Bradly they were intended only, to keep the Spaniards in order, they were perfectly satisfied, and many were desirous of Assisting us against them in case of need.--"[3]

Since "a prodigious Quantity of Peltry and Furrs was daily coming in" to Bradley and Fairchild's fort and trading post, Browne felt that success was assured to his plans for the maintenance of Fort Panmure as a real factor in the economic existence of Natchez; furthermore, he had the satisfaction to report that this British trade had already "caused. . . much Jealousy att New Orleans," and that at the instance of French merchants of that city officers in command of the Spanish posts near Natchez and elsewhere on the west bank of the Mississippi were being chosen with some regard to their knowledge of the speech of the Indians living nearby, in an effort to recapture their waning influence over the Indian trade streaming in to Natchez.[4]

As indication of the esteem with which Browne's two especially favored Natchez traders were held in the Provincial Council, it is interesting to note that on March 5 "John Bradley & Henry Fairchild Esqrs." were named members of the new Commission of the Peace for the Districts of the Iberville and Natchez.[5]

Contraband trade with the white population of Spanish Louisiana

---

[3]Browne to Hillsborough, Feb. 25, 1769, ibid., III, 271-272.

[4]Idem.

[5]Minutes of the Council, Pensacola, March 5, 1769, (MS)MPA, Engl., III, 336.

at this time became so common that the phrase, "going to Little Manchac," became the equivalent for journeying to the British trading posts of Natchez and the settlement around Fort Bute, on the Bayou Manchac.[6] This smuggling between the adjacent British and Spanish dominions assumed major proportions during the administration of the first governor of Spanish Louisiana, scholarly Don Antonio de Ulloa,[7] whose scientific attainments in South American research had won him recognition by membership in the British Royal Society. Unfortunately his administration of two and one-half years was marred by constant misunderstandings with his French-speaking subjects. Spanish efforts to curb this unlawful traffic with British West Florida were unsuccessful, and traders both at Fort Bute and at Fort Panmure battened on this brisk trade. Finally, difficulties between the French population of Lower Louisiana and De Ulloa became so serious that the inhabitants fomented a revolt which came to a head on October 28, 1768, resulting in De Ulloa's retreat to Spain.[8]

---

[6]John Walton Caughey, Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783 [University of California at Los Angeles Publications in Social Sciences, Volume 4] (Berkeley, 1934), 11.

[7]Antonio de Ulloa (1716-1795); entered Spanish navy, 1733, and rose to high rank in it; member of astronomical and geodetic expedition to South America, 1735-1744; governor of Peruvian district, superintendent of quicksilver mine, and squadron leader and commander of the flota of the Indies, 1758-1764; governor of Louisiana, Mch. 1766-Oct. 1768; author of two scientific works based on South American experience, 1748, 1772. D.A.B., XIX, 107-108; Article by E. Baret in Nouv. Biog. Gen., XLV, 778-779.

[8]Caughey, Gálvez, 15 ff.

Word of these happenings in New Orleans finally reached Browne at Pensacola on December 1, eliciting this prompt and hopeful comment to Hillsborough:

> I am told the whole province of Louisiana have deputed 50 of the principal Inhabitants to make a representation to me of their grievances which is now preparing for the press, demanding to become Eng[lish]. Subjects, & to settle at the Natchez having heard, from the great distance it is from Pensacola that it is to be made a seperate Goverment. Should that be the case, my Lord, I hope I shall not be forgot.[9]

And toward the end of December Browne once more referred to this discontent of French residents of Spanish Louisiana, adding:

> I am daily apply'd to by members of their principal Inhabitants for Land, and they purpose, one and all, to come over to us: They wish to have a Town lay'd out opposite Point Coupee, and another at the Natchez. It would make them very happy to be allowed the free Exercise of their Religion, which I promised them.
>
> It gives them the greatest Satisfaction to hear that the Natchez is to be made a Government of . . .[10]

Although Browne disclaimed, ". . . I am totally ignorant. . . how this Report [of plans for a separate government for Natchez] has prevailed," still, the mention of it afforded him opportunity to ask that he be placed over it as governor, if actually the rumor had any factual basis; and he added, ". . .certain it is, it would be of infinite Service to this most delightfull and unpeopled new World, to be made separate from West Florida . . .," and once more he urged his own qualifications to command the new subdivision.

---

[9]Browne to [Hillsborough], Pensacola, Dec. 1, 1768, (MS)MPA, Engl., III, 221-224.

[10]Same to same, Dec. 20, 1768, ibid., III, 259-260.

Unfortunately for Browne's ambitious scheme to populate the Natchez area with Louisiana French, and to have it created a separate province under his governorship, he saw neither the one nor the other materialize. As for the restive French inhabitants of Louisiana, whose distaste for Spanish rule led them to throw off the mild government of De Ulloa and then commence negotiations with the British in an attempt to become settlers at Natchez, soon they were to experience the iron rule of the new governor, "Bloody O'Reilly,"[11] whose summary execution of the leaders of the revolt in all likelihood included the heads of the movement to migrate to the neighborhood of Fort Panmure.

The foregoing evidences of Browne's absorbing interest in encouraging and protecting the settlement at Natchez, whether accomplished by a display of cannon retrieved from an abandoned fort or by an effort to promote French migration, show clearly the importance with which the governor viewed Fort Panmure as the nucleus of a great development of the Natchez region. Although its military establishment had been eliminated in accordance with a reactionary colonial policy, Browne had labored aggressively to maintain Fort Panmure as a vital factor in provincial defense.

---

[11] Alexander (Alejandro) O'Reilly (b. in Ireland, 1722 - d. in Spain, 1794); cadet in (Spanish) Hibernia Regiment, 1732, and after serving in Spanish, Austrian, and French armies, rose to high rank in army of Spain; major general and second in command at Havana, 1763; saved life of Carlos III in Madrid revolt, 1765; governor of Louisiana, 1769-1770; subsequently occupied important places in Spanish military organization. Nouv. Biog. Gen., LVIII, 768; article by Arthur P. Whitaker in D.A.B., XIV, 51-52; Caughey, Gálvez, 21-22; article by M. Michaud, Jr., in Louis-Gabriel Michaud, ed., Biographie Universelle, ancienne et moderne ... [85 volumes] (Paris, 1811-1862), XXXII, 59-61 (hereafter cited as Biog. Univ.).

Montfort Browne's administration of the affairs of West Florida ended some time early in the winter of 1769-1770.[12] At once the provincial government came under the control of Lieutenant Governor Elias Durnford,[13] who performed the gubernatorial function for nearly nine months. Almost from the commencement of Durnford's administration affairs in the Natchez region had prime interest.

On January 21, 1770, the one-and-one-half-year period in which Fort Panmure was little more than a glorified trading post abruptly ended. As John Bradley, one of Lieutenant Governor Browne's favored traders at Natchez, was chief participant in events which reached their culmination on that day, his version of the disturbance has particular value:

> I have repeatedly represented to Mr. Brown[e] the dangerous Situation we were in at Natchez [wrote Bradley from New Orleans], not only by its being abandoned by the Troops, but by the ruinous state of the Fort, I have also in the most pressing Terms assured him of the necessity of making some few Presents to the Chactaw Indians, agreeable to his repeated Promises, but every Proposition. . . has been totally disregarded. . .
>
> On the 21st Ult[im]o. eighteen Indians of the Chactaw Nation entered the Fort, armed and painted for War, at which time I was totally unguarded having only two People with me, the said Indians immediately surrounded my Store & placed Centery's round the Ramparts to prevent any Person going out or coming in, whilst another Party of them broke into the Store and took from thence every thing they could lay their Hands upon & breaking to Pieces what they could not carry away. . .[14]

---

[12]Browne was in charge of affairs until after November 7, 1769; Elias Durnford took charge before December 29.--Howard, "Colonial Pensacola," in loc. cit., 399.

[13]Elias Durnford was in West Florida as early as 1764 in the capacity of Engineer, or Surveyor; later he became Surveyor General of the province. On July 31, 1769, he was appointed Lieutenant Governor, and toward the end of that year he was acting as governor; these duties he performed until the arrival of Gov. Chester, Aug. 11, 1770, when he reverted to his regular duties as Lieutenant Governor.

[14]John Bradley to Lieut. Gov. Elias Durnford, New Orleans, February 1, 1770, (MS)MPA, Engl., IV, 91-98.

Realizing his own inability to cope with the Indians, Bradley managed to send a Negro to the settlements a few miles distant for help from the other white settlers. Among those who joined the rescue party was Henry LaFleur, the official Indian interpreter, but by far the most vigorous aid came from a certain Mr. Fergy, another of the small group of Natchez planters.

As Fergy tells it, he was at his plantation situated on the Mississippi River three leagues above Bradley's post when he received a message each from Bradley and from LaFleur, telling of the trouble at the fort and calling on him to come to the rescue with his men. As Fergy explained it, ". . . a Number of Chactaw Indians to about the number of 30, had been at the Fort, which is almost in Ruins, broke open the Stores, & took all the Goods away with the Horses --." When Fergy reached the Natchez waterfront about eight o'clock at night, he left his ten men at the foot of the bluff on which the fort was situated and climbed up to reconnoiter. Fires could be seen on top of the bluff, probably those of Indian camps. Fergy managed to steal into the fort without being seen, as the Indians were probably roistering around their fires, and he found Bradley locked in a room. The hapless trader was in favor of an immediate escape from the vicinity, as the Indians had told him that they would kill him in the morning, and he felt that they were in too strong a force to withstand.

This spiritless plan, however, did not appeal to Fergy. Handing Bradley a bayonet with which to force open the door, Fergy crept out of the fort and descended the bluff. One by one, he brought up his ten men, each time without detection. Two Choctaws and one Quapaw, all friendly to the white party, were found within the walls of the fort. These allies told Bradley and Fergy that they knew where the drunken marauders were

going with their booty, and a plan was arranged for the whites to follow the Indians, expecting no trouble in taking back the stolen goods from the drunken Choctaws.

The Choctaws, however, were still sober enough when the white men approached to fire a volley of thirteen or fourteen guns in their direction, wounding four men of the Fergy-Bradley party and their Quapaw Indian friend. In the mêlée two or three Choctaws were killed and an equal number wounded. As the Indians had fled, Bradley was able to recover such of his goods as had not been consumed or destroyed.

Upon the return to Fort Panmure, Bradley and Fergy assembled the few people who were settlers there, made a raft, and floated downstream to their plantations near the Old Tunica Village, in the Bayou Sara country. This almost complete desertion of the Natchez settlement Fergy traced to the fact that Bradley had sold great quantities of rum to the Indians; some had become drink-crazed and had committed the outrage while wrangling with Bradley over the presents which repeatedly he had promised to give them.[15]

Durnford at once sent full information concerning this border disturbance to Gage[16] and to Hillsborough,[17] stating that the too free dispensing of rum among the Indians may have been the cause of Bradley's misfortune, and hinting that reports were current that other traders, jealous of his dominant position in the Indian trade and fearful of what

---

[15]Account presented to the Governor in Council by Mr. Fergy of an Indian attack at Natchez, Pensacola, February 6, 1770, (MS)MPA, Engl., IV, 101-103.

[16]Durnford to Gage, Pensacola, Feb. 7, 1770, ibid., IV, 89-90.

[17]Durnford to Hillsborough, Pensacola, Feb. 7, 1770, ibid., IV, 87.

drunken Indians might do to them, had incited the Indians to destroy Bradley's business.[18]

Whatever may have been the underlying causes of the Natchez disturbance, it at least contributed to a movement gaining in strength for the past several months to increase the size of the military establishment in West Florida.

As early as October 12, 1768, Hillsborough wrote Gage that he doubted that three companies of troops in West Florida would prove sufficient to protect the province.[19] Wishing to keep the good will of this powerful official, Gage explained, "This Force [three companies] was judged sufficient, with the Inhabitants, for the Defence of the Forts of Pensacola and Mobile against the Savages. But as your Lordship is apprehensive, that this may be judged to be too small a Force, it is [my purpose] to augment it, and I shall send Directions to leave Six Companys. . ."[20] About a month later, however, Gage thought better of this decision, and wrote Hillsborough that in view of the "present uncertain State of Affairs in this Country," he had written Haldimand that he should ". . . only reinforce the three Companys directed by the first Disposition to be left there, with such an additional Number only as he shall judge Necessary to protect the Persons and Property [of the inhabitants until otherwise

---

[18]Gage to Hillsborough, New York, May 14, 1770, Carter, Gage Corresp., I, 256-258.

[19]Hillsborough to Gage, Whitehall, Oct. 12, 1768, ibid., II, 75-78.

[20]Gage to Hillsborough, New York, Jan. 6, 1769, ibid., I, 211-213.

instructed].s[21]

Gage's efforts to adhere closely to the Barrington Plan for concentrating the bulk of his forces in large bodies close to the eastern seaboard continued to prove unsatisfactory to Hillsborough, upon whom petitions for the strengthening of West Florida continued to fall. In a sharply peremptory tone Hillsborough wrote Gage on December 9, 1769, that West Florida seemed to be endangered by hostile movements among the Spanish in Louisiana and the Creek Indians in the interior; ". . . His Majesty cannot but consider His Colony of West Florida . . . as requiring a greater Force for its protection than is at present stationed there," Hillsborough stated, "and therefore it is His Majesty's Pleasure that you should lose no time in sending thither from East Florida, or elsewhere, such a number of Troops, and putting the Forts into such a State of Defence, as you shall think sufficient to discourage or disappoint any sudden Attempt to distress and break up our infant Settlements."[22]

Accordingly, Gage reported a week after receiving the foregoing that he was about to send the 16th Regiment to West Florida to replace the three companies stationed there.[23] This regiment sailed on March 27 from

---

[21]Gage to Hillsborough, New York, Feb. 4, 1769, ibid., I, 217-218.

[22]Hillsborough to Gage, Whitehall, Dec. 9, 1769, ibid., II, 93-95.

[23]Gage to Hillsborough, New York, Feb. 21, 1770, ibid., I, 246-248.

New York for Pensacola,[24] and on April 24, 1770, Gage had the satisfaction to report that Lieutenant Governor Durnford's desire for troops had been complied with.[25]

In December, 1769, a month earlier than the disturbance at Fort Panmure which virtually depopulated the Natchez settlement, a new governor was appointed for West Florida--Peter Chester.[26]

Five months before his arrival in his new province, Chester placed before Hillsborough a statement of his views with respect to the "better peopling and Cultivating the Province of West Florida, & for the better securing it against any attempts of an Enemy, either Spaniards or Indians." In this exposition of his ideas on colonial problems Chester showed that he adhered to the same school of thought as Egremont, Amherst, and the colonial governors who had preceded him in office. According to Chester's statement,

> From the best information that he [Chester] has been able to get from Maps and Books treating of that Country, as well as from several Officers and others who have been there, he has strong reason to believe that the most fertile part of the Province is towards the Natchez, he would therefore beg leave to recommend the building of a strong Fort in that part as it would be a great encouragement to planters to settle there, and it would also keep the several tribes of Indians who are in that neigh-

---

[24] Same to same, Apr. 23, 1770, ibid., I, 252-253.

[25] Same to same, ibid., I, 253-255.

[26] Peter Chester (ca. 1717-1799) lieutenant, 1740; major, 1756; lieut. colonel, 1761, serving at Belle-Isle and in Martinique to 1763; retired on half pay, 1764; appointed governor of West Florida, Dec., 1769, serving actually in the Province from Aug. 11, 1770, to May 10, 1781; retired to England upon capture of West Florida by Spain. Rowland, "Peter Chester," in loc. cit., 1-2, 15-16.

bourhood in great awe, and deterr them from entering into the Spanish interest, if not entirely attaching them to us, as that post would be between them and the Spaniards. . .[27]

These were as well the views of Farmar, Johnstone, Browne, and Durnford.

On July 9, 1770, the provincial Council announced to Hillsborough their satisfaction to see the headquarters for Haldimand's Southern District once more located at Pensacola. This change of base, the members felt, would afford sufficient protection to the chief settlements of the province from the danger of Indian raids; nevertheless, the Council continued, ". . . it is with much concern We acquaint your Lordship that Facts have evinced the justice of our apprehensions, from the first Removal of the Troops from the Forts on the River Mississippi, where since that Event so many ravages have been committed by the Indians, that scarce any Settlement hath escaped feeling the effects of their Insolence, which nothing can prevent, but the appearance of a Military Force there."[28] Pointing out the richness of the soil in the Natchez region, and the commercial advantages that would be gained for England by establishing merchants where they could secure a share of the fur and deer skin trade monopolized for so long by the French, the Council announced that "Many Persons of Character and Fortune from the back parts of Virginia and other Northern Colonies where the Lands are worn out, or are remote from Water carriage [,] have lately viewed that part of the Province, and have given the strongest Assurances, that numerous families of skill and abilities in planting would

---

[27]Chester to Hillsborough. [Received March 3, 1770] (MS)MPA, Engl., IV, 65-66.

[28]The Council [of West Florida] to Hillsborough [Jul. 9, 1770], ibid., IV, 385-387.

immediately remove thither, could they have proper assurances of protection from Government. . ." This encouragement Durnford had not been slow to extend to an influential representative of a group of families from the western part of Virginia, for whom he ordered in Council the reservation of a large tract of land on the Mississippi sufficient to accommodate the 2000 settlers whose arrival within one year was promised, provided the Virginian could rely upon adequate protection to his emigrants.

Only a few days after Chester arrived at Pensacola on August 10, 1770, there appeared before him Daniel Huay, a North Carolinian, who had come to Pensacola as messenger from a party of seventy-nine men, women, and children, with eighteen Negroes, whom he had piloted down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to Natchez. There the party intended to settle. Under the leadership of Samuel Wells and John McIntire, this group of prospective settlers had left Red Stone Creek in western Pennsylvania and had travelled past Fort Pitt on the long voyage that brought them finally to the rich farming lands of the Natchez region. Early in July, 1770, they had landed at the abandoned Fort Panmure, into which some of them moved, while the others camped nearby. These newcomers, provided with farming tools and seed grain for the first crop in the new land, on July 19 sent Huay to see if protection and employment could be extended to them until they might become established. John McIntire stated his willingness to set up a saw and grist mill near Natchez, the parts of which he had brought along in his boat, and he suggested that he could perform the duties of a surveyor. Requesting copies of the laws of the province, and rules for the acquisition of land, these potential settlers held forth to the governor the prospect of securing nearly a hundred additional families from the Carolina-Virginia-Pennsylvania hinterland, to whom this first group would send back word of

how well they were received by the provincial administration. Huey, indeed, was even then on his way back to Carolina to bring his own family to the new country.[29]

Chester, who was thoroughly in sympathy with the aims of the McIntire-Wells party, discussed with his Council how best to give encouragement to the group at Natchez; upon their advice he inquired of Haldimand if a detachment of troops might be sent forthwith to protect the new settlers at Natchez, but the General doubted that his instructions would permit the sending of troops to Natchez without special authorization from Gage. From the Deputy Superintendant of Indian Affairs Chester learned that ". . . a settlement [of the new white settlers] would [not] give any umbrage to the Tribes of Indians in those parts, . . .[as] the Lands at Natchez are not claimed by any of the Indian Nations contiguous to the Mississippi. . .;" and so Chester no longer feared that the settlement would provoke Indian hostility. Even though he could not satisfy the settlers' request for military protection, still the governor sent them a supply of food to prevent their starving through the winter, all in the care of the deputy surveyor of the province, who went with instructions to settle the newcomers in a compact body in a township which he would lay out.

Chester had heard of still other groups of settlers on their way down the Mississippi, and he was anxious for Hillsborough to indicate to what extent aid might be extended to these potential settlers. "[Although some of the new arrivals at Natchez] probably are Outlaws," Chester admitted,

---

[29]John McIntire to the Governor of West Florida, Fort Natchez, July 19, 1770, ibid., IV, 469-470; Deposition before Gov. Chester at Pensacola of Daniel Huey, Aug. 20 [or 25], 1770, ibid., IV, 471-474; both available in Rowland, "Peter Chester," in loc. cit., 25-27.

"and others of them who either could not subsist upon the barren Lands on the back parts of the Provinces from whence they came, or could not afford to pay the Proprietors such sums as they demanded, and were therefore induced to emigrate. . . in order to better their Circumstances, the most of them have little or no property, but such people can labour, and will make very good first settlers." In his opinion, these backwoodsmen who for years had been beyond the reach of laws might make good citizens if settled in compact groups among whom magistrates could enforce the laws. Richer, more desirable settlers would come to the Natchez region only after the more venturesome had formed settlements and protection had been assured.[30]

Hillsborough's reply must have arrived in the following spring. "It does not appear to me," he wrote Chester, "that there is any reasonable Objection to the Settlement of the Lands at the Natchez, nor any Impropriety in applying a part of the contingent Fund to the supplying those who become Adventurers [settlers] in that Country with what may be requisite. . . in forming a Settlement that, if properly conducted, cannot fail of being attended with very beneficial Consequences to the Colony." As for the reestablishment of forts at Natchez and upon the Iberville, Hillsborough preferred to wait for a full report upon the state of the country before reaching a definite conclusion.[31]

This information was even then in the gathering. Edward Mease,

---

[30]Chester to Hillsborough, Pensacola, Sept. 26, 1770, (MS)MPA, Engl., IV, 451-466; also available in Rowland,"Peter Chester," in loc. cit., 17-25.

[31]Hillsborough to Chester, Whitehall, Feb. 11, 1771, (MS)MPA, Engl., IV, 505-506.

an unusually well-trained observer, spent the winter and spring of 1770-1771 in a jaunt through the western part of the province. On February 22, 1771, Mease saw ahead of him, as he ascended the Mississippi, the bluffs of Natchez; here he landed:

> From the Bank of the River for the Distance of near two hundred Yards, the Land is low but evenly flat, when you come to a Hill, which from its Slipperyness after a Shower of Rain wou'd be almost impracticable to ascend for an Asthmatick Man. After rising this Hill the Land still ascends (but easily) & without any Difficulty we came to Fort Panmure which exactly resembles the Terrace at Windsor, tho' in Minuature & form'd by Nature. From this Fort which is now in Ruins you have as noble and extensive a Prospect as can gratify the Eye. Looking Eastward you see a Country [inserted: Land] not gradually rising into Hills but a fine undulating Country which even the celebrated Campania of Rome cannot exceed in Beauty. On the West side of the River the Country looks low from such an Eminence and there are no Hills to interrupt the Sight jusq à sa Perte [as far as one can see]. To the S. East I saw several Smokes, where I conceive the Inhabitants mostly reside. Near the Fort, there are the Remains of Gardens laid out by some English Officers, but nothing is left Standing but some few Plumb, Peach and Fig Trees.

Mease visited the settlements in the St. Catherine's Creek valley three miles inland from the fort and there found sixty-four persons, mainly Carolina and Maryland emigrants, all apparently healthy and with good agricultural prospects.[32] Upon his return to London in the autumn Mease sent the narrative of his journey to the Earl of Hillsborough, with the explanation that his intentions in keeping this journal were good, and he "presume(d) to hope that the Banks of the Mississippi (would) soon flourish under Your Lordships Patronage and Protection."[33]

On September 28, 1771, Chester informed Hillsborough that he felt

---

[32]Narrative of a Journey through several Parts of the Province of West Florida in the Years 1770 and 1771, by Edward Mease, (MS)MPA, Engl., IV, 695-762; printed in Rowland, "Peter Chester," in loc. cit., 58-90.

[33]Edward Mease to [Earl of Hillsborough], London, Nov. 26, 1771, (MS) MPA, Engl., IV, 693; printed in Rowland, "Peter Chester" in loc. cit., 58.

that the safety and welfare of West Florida depended upon the effectual settlement of the Mississippi River region.[34] Already plans were being discussed covertly by leaders of British policy looking forward to war with Spain and a sudden raid upon New Orleans,[35] and in any such attack British successes would be rendered more certain by having a large population along the Mississippi from which to draw an important part of their strength.

Although Chester believed that the most important part of colonial policy involved securing additional inhabitants as quickly as possible, still he enclosed Durnford's estimates of expenses which that official recommended as surveyor of the province. Among these was an expenditure of £ 850, "for erecting and putting up a Redoubt and Brick Blockhouse at the Natchez to contain 60 Men, with a Ditch and Brick Parapet;" the brick, Durnford suggested, could be burned locally.[36]

Once more the question of the advisability of creating a separate government for the Mississippi River settlements was agitated; as had been the case two years earlier, Montfort Browne was still prime agitator. In partnership with William Tayler, the former military commander for the Floridas, and the Earl of Eglinton, a member of the court faction in London, Browne petitioned the Privy Council on December 27, 1771, for the erection of a new colony. In more explicit terms Browne stated later to the Board of Trade that his company was interested in the lands from the mouth of the Yazoo on the north to the Iberville on the south, and from the

---

[34]Chester to Hillsborough, Pensacola, September 28, 1771, Rowland "Peter Chester," in loc. cit., 92-98.

[35]Hillsborough to Gage, "(most secret)", Whitehall, January 2, 1771, Carter, Gage Corresp., II, 122-124.

[36]Rowland, "Peter Chester," in loc. cit., 99.

Mississippi on the west to "a river described in the maps of that country, as pursuing a course nearly parallel with the Mississippi."[37] Within this area Browne hoped to see come into being a town and fort upon the Iberville, and a populous settlement once more take its place about a regarrisoned Fort Panmure at Natchez.

Browne's scheme for colonization of the Natchez country was but one of several actively-supported ventures at this time; of the others, the Ogden-Swayze group and the Lyman colony are deserving of particular mention, since they resulted in a considerable accession of population to the western portion of the province.

In 1767 Amos Ogden, of New Jersey, a retired naval officer, obtained an order, or mandamus, from the King directing the governor of West Florida to survey and allot to the recipient a 25,000-acre tract. Four years later Ogden sold 19,000 acres of this block of land to two other New Jersey residents, the brothers Richard and Samuel Swayze, of whom the latter was a Congregationalist minister. The buyers visited the Natchez region and located their claim several miles south of the Natchez fort, and near the Homochitto River, a tributary of the Mississippi. In the winter of 1772-1773 the Swayze brothers, accompanied by a considerable portion of the Reverend Mr. Swayze's congregation, migrated to their lands on the Homochitto, there to settle in what since has been known as the Jersey Settlement, or Kingston.[38]

---

[37]Alvord, Miss. Vall., II, 171.

[38]Dunbar Rowland, Mississippi, Comprising Sketches of Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form. [4 volumes, of which only I and II comprise the encyclopedia] (Atlanta, 1907; reprinted 1916), II, 147 ff (hereafter cited as Ency. Miss. Hist., by which name this work is more commonly known).

Of this group Chester wrote in May, 1773, to Dartmouth:

> A Clergyman from the Province of New Jersey [Samuel Swayze] has this Spring also brought with him a number of his Parish[i]oners, who are gone to form an Establishment near the Natches, they intend to Build Houses, and to Plant their Lands, and to prepare the way in order to receive a considerable number of Families in the next Year: This Clergyman has also Applied for a reserve of Lands for a Township, upon which he assures me he will bring One hundred Families.[39]

At the same time, Chester referred to still other settlers, possibly members of Colonel John Clark's Holston River group,[40] who were reaching the Natches region by way of the Ohio River; at no time in its history as a British possession had its prospects seemed brighter than in the summer of 1773.

At this time the most promising colonization effort for the Natches country had its origin in New England. As early as 1763 General Phineas Lyman of Connecticut[41] was in London attempting to secure lands for his former fellow-soldiers of the provincial service in America. For

---

[39] Chester to Dartmouth, Pensacola, May 16, 1773 (MS)MPA, Engl., V, 371-373.

[40] Cecil Johnson, "Expansion in West Florida, 1770-1779," M.V.H.R., XX (Mch., 1934), 481-489.

[41] Phineas Lyman (1715-1774) graduate of Yale, 1738, and eminent lawyer; major general of provincial troops, 1755; second in command in Lake George campaign; commander of provincial troops in Havana campaign, 1762, and military governor of the city; agent of an association of "Military Adventurers," interested in securing a royal grant of land in the West as partial recompence for their military services, 1763-1772; received by the royal mandamus 20,000-acre grant near Natches, 1770; led colony to settle this grant, 1773-1774, dying soon after. D.A.B., XI, 517; Claiborne, Mississippi, 107-108.

a time Lyman hoped to secure lands near the mouth of the Ohio, but in this expectation he was disappointed. For years he lingered on in London, growing more discouraged and apathetic as his schemes failed to gain royal approval. Finally, favorable action was taken on a petition which Lyman had presented to the Privy Council on March 9, 1770, requesting a grant of 20,000 acres near Natchez. Before the completion of this grant, Lyman returned to Connecticut in 1772, his health seriously impaired.

From the report which he made to the "Company of Military Adventurers," as the association of provincial veterans was known, this land-hungry group assumed that Lyman's efforts had secured for them in West Florida the same advantageous terms as those given to veterans of the regular British army.[42]

Accordingly, the "Military Adventurers" sent forth in November, 1772, as a committee to investigate conditions in West Florida, Colonel Israel Putnam, Lieutenant Rufus Putnam, Captain Roger Enos, and Captain Thaddeus Lyman, the last a son of General Lyman.[43]

In March, 1773, this committee appeared at Pensacola before Governor Chester and the provincial Council; there they learned that no instructions had been received in West Florida authorizing the governor to give particular consideration to the request of this New England group of veterans. Nevertheless, Chester was ready to give all possible encouragement to this venture, as it accorded with his own ideas for colonization: "As these Gentlemen Appeared to be Authorized by a very considerable number

---

[42]Alvord, Miss. Vall., II, 172 ff.

[43]Ibid., II, 175n; McMillan, Natchez, 28.

of respectable Colonists, who could not fail of becoming a great acquisition to us, I gave them every encouragement that I thought would be consistent with my Duty, and promised that such ungranted Lands, as they should fix upon, should be reserved for themselves, and their associates, until they could remove hither; and that when they arrived with their Families in the Province, I would then grant them all, such Quantities of Land, as were conformable to my general Instructions. . ."[44] Among other encouragements to the distinguished committee, Chester agreed to have such lands as they might choose surveyed and marked off into 20,000-acre townships which would be held until the "Military Adventurers" could occupy them.

Pleased with this favorable reception at Pensacola, the committee visited the Natchez region and selected nineteen townships, each of approximately 23,000 acres, situated north of Natchez upon Bayou Pierre and the Big Black River. Upon their return to Pensacola, the committeemen asked that these tracts be reserved for their exclusive use, with the understanding that they be settled by March 1, 1774, yet with the privilege of an extension of time, should the settling of their affairs render this course necessary. To this arrangement the governor and council agreed on July 9, 1773, and gave the committee legally signed and sealed documents evidencing the agreement. As an added inducement to secure these desirable colonists, the provincial government promised them very favorable terms for additional acreages that the colonists might choose to purchase.

Upon their return to Connecticut, the committee reported conditions to the "Military Adventurers," who in November, 1773, agreed to accept the proposed terms and resolved to settle four of the nineteen town-

---

[44]Chester to Dartmouth, Pensacola, May 16, 1773, (MS)MPA, Engl., V, 371-373.

ships at once.[45]

Late in December, 1773, the enfeebled General Lyman and a large group of his associates, relatives, and friends, sailed for West Florida. Upon their arrival there a few months later the New Englanders discovered that the governor had received instructions that completely overturned their plans for receiving the grant of lands which Chester had promised them. Although they occupied the lands which had been reserved for them, nothing more valid than squatters' rights was their portion.[46]

On January 22, 1773, the Board of Trade finally reported unfavorably on Montfort Browne's plan for a colonization scheme in the western part of West Florida; their recommendation was that the governor of the province discontinue the granting of land until regulations controlling its disposal be revised.[47] Accordingly, an Order in Council forbidding the disposal of lands in West Florida was issued April 7 and dispatched to Chester on April 10; of this ruling Dartmouth later commented to Chester: "You will have seen . . . that no proposition for taking up Lands in West Florida can be received or acted upon, untill His Majesty's pleasure is known with regard to the Plan hereafter to be adopted for the disposal of His Majesty's Lands in America in general . . ."[48]

---

[45]Memorial of Major Timothy Hierlihy [and other] Members of the Company of Military Adventurers. . . to Chester, Pensacola, March 5, 1774, (MS)MPA, Engl., VI, 119-127.

[46]Alvord, Miss. Vall., II, 176.

[47]Ibid., II, 171.

[48]Dartmouth to Chester, August 4, 1773, (MS)MPA, Engl., V, 393-394.

ships to come.[45]

[illegible] 1773, [illegible] a large group of his [illegible] relatives [illegible], [illegible] in West Florida. Upon their arrival there a few months later the New Englanders discovered that the governor had received instructions that completely overturned their plans by forbidding the grant of lands which Chester had promised them. Although they occupied the lands which had been reserved for them, nothing more [illegible] than squatters' rights [illegible] their [illegible].[46]

On January 30, 1774, the Board of Trade finally reported unfavorably on [illegible] Brown's plan for a colonization scheme in the western part of West Florida; their recommendation was that the governor of the province discontinue the granting of land until regulations controlling its disposal be revised.[47] Accordingly, an Order in Council forbidding the disposal of lands in West Florida was issued April 7 and dispatched to Chester on April 10; of this ruling Dartmouth later commented to Chester: "You will have seen . . . that no proposition for taking up lands in West Florida can be received at present, until His Majesty's pleasure is known with regard to the Plan hereafter to be adopted for the disposal of His Majesty's Lands in America in general . . . ."[48]

---

[45] [illegible] of military [illegible] . . . [illegible]

[46] [illegible], II, [illegible]

[47] Ibid., II, [illegible].

[48] Dartmouth to Chester, [illegible] 1774, [illegible]

Throughout the succeeding months the Board of Trade studied land laws in an effort to devise ones suitable to conditions in West Florida; their conclusions were reported to the Privy Council on June 3, 1773, and on October 28 that body ordered that additional instructions be prepared for the various American governors, but action was not taken on these supplementary instructions until February of the following year.[49] Late in 1774 restrictions on the granting of land were relaxed slightly, permitting the governor discretion in confirming to the actual occupants of land title to their holdings, especially in cases where the settlers were obviously unable to make payment.[50]

Nevertheless, when the Lyman colony arrived in West Florida in the spring of 1774 the governor had not yet been issued directions to resume the granting of vacant lands. A deputation from the New Englanders headed by Major Timothy Hierlihy, and including Captain John Elsworth, John Kirby, Hugh White, Jr., and Thomas Lyman, waited upon Governor Chester and the provincial council on March 5, 1774, presenting to him a memorial from the association in which the history of the entire colonization efforts was detailed. This memorial laid great stress upon the contention that the "Military Adventurers" held a valid contract with the provincial government for the lands which had been reserved for their use, and so the later act of the home government could not be construed as affecting the status of their reservation. Chester forwarded this memorial to Dartmouth for his consideration, with the comment that the encouragement of this group

---

[49]Alvord, Miss. Vall., II, 214.

[50]Dartmouth to Chester, December 10, 1774, cited in McMillan, Natchez, 18.

would protect as by a buffer the inhabitants situated further from the exposed Mississippi River frontier.[51] Dartmouth's reply on July 8, however, brought no comfort for the "Military Adventurers;" in it he announced; "The Plan that has been adopted by the King for the future Disposal of his Lands will not admit of any Indulgence in the Case of Major Hierlihy & his Associates, and I cannot but lament the Disappointment they will feel upon the Occasion."[52]

Although this decision by the home government to deny the claims of the Lyman colony to its West Florida grant came as a bitter blow, still the venturesome settlers who arrived with General Lyman in the spring of 1774 were in actual possession of the lands which had been selected for them. The General and his friends continued on to their reservation and began establishing themselves on the lands which they had chosen. Soon after his arrival there the General died, a fact which his widow was to learn when she arrived in the province, mortally ill, two years later.[53]

---

[51]Chester to Dartmouth, Pensacola, March 8, 1774, (MS)MPA, Engl., VI, 117.

[52]Dartmouth to Chester, Whitehall, July 6, 1774, ibid., VI, 141.

[53]Claiborne, Mississippi, 109. The sufferings of the Lyman colony are vividly revealed in the writings of a participant, Matthew Phelps: Anthony Haswell, Memoirs and Adventures of Captain Matthew Phelps: Formerly of Harwington in Connecticut Now Resident New Haven in Vermont. Particularly in Two Voyages, From Connecticut to the River Mississippi, From December 1773 to October 1780. Compiled from the Original Journal and Minutes Kept by Mr. Phelps, during his Voyages and Adventures, and Revised and Corrected According to His Present Recollections. (Bennington, Vt., 1802). Also see Rowland, Ency. Miss. Hist., II, 760.

In 1775 the Lyman patent to West Florida lands was belatedly issued for the use of the Lyman family.[54] The actual possession to this grant was responsible for the emigration of the second part of the Lyman group. Late in the spring of 1776, in the midst of the turmoil of the months preceding the actual declaration of Independence by the American Colonies, Mrs. Phineas Lyman led out from Connecticut a party of emigrants who were anxious to live in peace under the British flag. When ever was West Florida a more attractive haven to colonists from the eastern seaboard? In spite of the many dangers of seizure by British war vessels as suspicious characters while at sea, two or three ships sailed from the Connecticut coast in May and after a hazardous voyage reached the mouth of the Mississippi late in June. The sufferings of this second group of the Lyman colony in toiling up the Mississippi during the hot and fever-ridden summer of 1776 have been told eloquently in the Memoirs and Adventures of Matthew Phelps, a member of this group of New Englanders. Phelps apparently had been merely a fellow-passenger in one of the ships which took the Lyman party out from Connecticut in the winter of 1773-1774;[55] this was the trip on which General Lyman made the final journey to the lands selected for the new settlement about twenty miles up the Big Black River from its confluence with the Mississippi.[56]

Many of the new settlers died under agonizing circumstances before

---

[54]Claiborne, Mississippi, 108n.

[55]Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 16-38.

[56]Ibid., Appendix, 45-46. A brief and none too accurate narrative of the adventures of the Lyman family in establishing this colony appears in Timothy Dwight, Travels in New England and New York [4 volumes] (New Haven, 1821-1822), I, 306-316.

reaching their new home; Phelps, however, survived to participate in many of the most exciting events that marked the succeeding five years of British rule in West Florida.

Sometime in 1773, before leaving West Florida for England, Durnford made an inspection tour through the western portions of the province. "Att the Natchez, and Parts adjacent," he wrote later, "are a great Number of Familys; 30, or Forty Familys of whom have Grants of Land; and from Information I received 150 Familys who have lately arrived, have no Possessions and some of them have considerable Property in Slaves; one of Them consisted of no less than 80 Working Slaves. . ." According to Durnford's estimate, the population of the Mississippi River settlements in the winter of 1773-1774 must have included at least 2,500 white and 600 Negro inhabitants, while the Gulf Coast settlers, 600 of whom were Negro slaves, totalled 1,800.[57]

Not all of the settlers who flocked to the comparative freedom of the Mississippi River settlements near Natchez were desirable settlers. Among the back-country folk who crossed the mountains and floated downstream to the vicinity of Fort Panmure were desperadoes as well as desirable citizens. Sometime in the autumn of 1772 a half dozen lawless fellows who had established themselves in the river hills between Natchez and the mouth of the Yazoo River lay in wait for unwary river travellers. By some means they managed to overtake on the river two batteaus laden with furs, the property of three French-speaking subjects of the King of Spain. Carbonneau, one of the owners, was unlucky enough to have accompanied this

---

[57]Durnford to Dartmouth, "A Description of West Florida with the State of Its' Settlements," January 15, 1774, (MS)MPA, Engl., VI, 32-35.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

shipment in person; he with his two white and two black companions was murdered by these bandits, who took their booty to their headquarters near Natchez, where one of their number found means to dispose of the plunder. For some months this gang, disguised as Indians, had been preying upon the river traffic, and so far they had escaped detection. Word of this particularly cold-blooded murder, which was committed in December, 1772, was reported to the magistrates at Natchez by an informer; in June, 1773, these officers raided the outlaws' den and took three into custody while the other three made their escape.[58]

This crime had international complications, as it had been committed by the subjects of Great Britain upon subjects of Spain, and in the midst of the Mississippi River, the national boundary. A protest was lodged with Chester at Pensacola by the Spanish governor at New Orleans, and the entire colony became greatly concerned with bringing the criminals who had been captured to trial at Pensacola.[59] The trial dragged on slowly, as there were many difficulties encountered in getting witnesses to attend the trial at Pensacola. In reporting this outrage to Dartmouth Chester remarked, ". . .I cannot help representing. . . that there appears to be an absolute necessity for reestablishing the Posts on the Mississippi. . .," and he suggested that the presence of a few troops at Natchez would materially aid the local magistrates in maintaining order there on the frontier.[60]

---

[58]Attorney General Edmund Rush Wegg to Chester, Pensacola, May 24, 1774, (MS)MPA, Engl., VI, 161-164.

[59]Governor Don Luis de Unzaga y Amézaga to Chester, New Orleans, June 8, 1773, (MS)MPA, Engl., V, 407-408; Magistrate George Urquhart to Chester, Sempas Vale, Mississippi [River settlements], July 1, 1773, ibid., V, 409-412; Chester to De Unzaga y Amézaga, Pensacola, July 30, 1773, ibid., V, 403-405.

[60]Chester to Dartmouth, Pensacola, August 28, 1773, ibid., V, 399-401.

Durnford held much the same views as did his superior in the province; in his report on provincial affairs written for Dartmouth's use a few months later he stated: "The ungovernable Spirit of these new settlers, many being the Back Inhabitants of the other Provinces; without Education, without Religion, or Principles fit for the Bond of Society; deter many good Men from Settling amongst Them: Magistracy alone unaided, can administer little Justice amongst Offenders, without the aid of a Stronger Power. . ." This lack Durnford proposed to correct by once more establishing military posts on the Mississippi, chiefly to act as a policing body: for Natchez he suggested that two or three companies and a block house might suffice.[61]

Apparently no effort was made by the home government to reestablish the Mississippi River defenses at this time. Nevertheless, the policy with respect to the granting of land in West Florida once more changed abruptly. With the increase of revolutionary sentiment that was sweeping through the colonies along the eastern seaboard, British authorities determined to grant concessions that might mollify the spirit of opposition which they found on all sides. On July 5, 1775, Dartmouth wrote Chester, "that Gratuitous Grants, exempt from Quit Rents for ten years should be made to any persons from the other Colonies, who may be induced. . . to seek an Asylum in Your Government."[62] Although this conciliatory policy was

---

[61] Durnford to Dartmouth, January 15, 1774, ibid., VI, 36-38.

[62] Carter, "Some Aspects of Brit. Adm. in W. Fla.," in loc. cit., 374; also quoted in Garland Taylor, "Colonial Settlement and Early Revolutionary Activity in West Florida up to 1779," M.V.H.R. (December, 1935), 351-360.

adopted too late to change the trend of events on the Atlantic seaboard,[63] it had not come too late to benefit the province of West Florida. Late in November, 1775, Chester announced to Dartmouth that he had issued a proclamation, ". . . inviting all the well affected Inhabitants of the Colonies in Rebellion, who are desirous of retreating to a secure asylum to repair to this Colony. . .;" furthermore, Chester stated that he had promised these potential settlers grants of lands upon receiving from them acceptable proofs of their loyalty to the British system of government.[64]

At the same time, Chester commented pointedly upon the lukewarm character of interest which the home government had taken in colonial affairs in his province:

> Had this Colony [West Florida] had any particular encouragement given to it we should have now been in a very flourishing Condition, but the Abandoning the Posts on the Mississippi, and withdrawing the Troops from thence disheart[e]ned reputable People with Fortunes from making settlements where they thought their properties would be insecure, however we are at present in great hopes of some attention from Government, and are encreasing fast, the late troubles [beginnings of the American Revolution] have already brought several People to us from the Northward who removed in order to prevent their being compelled to enter into the Rebellion. . .[65]

Chester stated that he was informed that several thousand persons in the eastern seaboard colonies were ready to emigrate, but that they lacked the ships and official permission; his suggestion embodied the sending of

---

[63]Alvord, Miss. Vall., II, 214-215.

[64]Chester to Dartmouth, November 20, 1775, (MS)MPA, Engl., VI, 441-442. The text of Chester's proclamation of November 11 appears in John Almon, ed. and compiler, The Remembrancer; or, Impartial Repository of Public Events (London, 1775-1784) For the Year 1777 (1778), V, 386-387.

[65]Same to same, November 20, 1775, ibid., VI, 447-449.

special transports to bring these families, with official protection, from their old homes to West Florida. Upon the arrival of these new settlers, Chester advocated giving heads of families a bounty of supplies amounting to the value of five pounds sterling. Thus, he believed, settlers would be attracted to filter westward from the Virginia-Carolina hinterland into West Florida, even though they might not be able to take passage by ship. The Revolutionists could not prevent this migration from the interior, Chester asserted. ". . . as a farther encouragement and inducement for People of property," Chester added," a Regiment should be immediately sent to the River Mississippi and the Posts formerly abandoned, or such others as might be thought necessary, should be immediately established for the Protection of the Inhabitants; many of whom are now People of property and have often represented to me their apprehensions of danger, should a War happen with Spain . . ." In that case, Chester felt that the presence of a single regiment complete, and properly stationed, would at the same time protect the country and be sufficient in case of need to force the Spanish outposts to retreat to New Orleans.[66]

Further to facilitate this expected throng of new settlers along the Mississippi, Chester announced to his Council in February his intention to send a surveyor to Fort Panmure to lay out a town there.[67]

In 1776 the settlement at Natchez consisted altogether of twenty log and frame houses, all grouped on the low shelf of ground at the foot of the bluff on which Fort Panmure was the dominant structure, and which

---

[66] Idem.

[67] Minutes of Council, February 27, 1776, cited in Johnson, "Expansion in W. Fla.," in loc. cit., 493.

gained later notoriety as "Natchez Under-the-Hill." Only four mercantile firms then existed at Natchez, and these were the partnership of Hanchett and Newman, Thomas Barber, Captain John Blommart, and James Willing. Hanchett belonged to the Lyman group, Blommart was a half-pay British officer who was to attain prominence in the Natchez revolt of 1781,[68] while Willing, whose grant for 1,100 acres of land near Natchez was issued on August 4, 1772, had been a prominent merchant at Natchez from as early as the summer of 1773 to 1776; his career will receive further attention in the following chapter.[69] The whole population of the Natchez district at this time has been estimated as not exceeding seventy-eight families, and nearly all of them had arrived since 1772.

With the advent of the American Revolution, West Florida became largely cut off from regular contact with the colonies on the Atlantic seaboard; communications with England likewise suffered. In June, 1776,

---

[68]This subject lies beyond the scope of the present study. It has been adequately treated in Caughey, Gálvez, 215-242, and in the same writer's "The Natchez Rebellion of 1781 and its Aftermath," L.H.Q., XVI (January, 1933), 57-83.

[69]Reference to Willing's land grant appears in a list entitled, "A State of all Grants of Land which have passed the Great Seal of the Province of West Florida on Family Right and Purchase. . . [Aug. 10, 1770-Nov. 4, 1773]," (MS)MPA, Engl., VI, 83-89. Urquhart mentioned Willing as a prominent citizen of Natchez in his letter to Chester of July 1, 1773, ibid., V, 409-412. Data on the appearance of Natchez in 1776 are found in: Claiborne, Mississippi, 116; B[enjamin]. L[eonard]. C[ovington]. Wailes, Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi. Embracing a Sketch of the Social and Natural History of the State. . . . ([Philadelphia, Pa.] 1854), 61-62; Kathryn Trimmer Abbey Hanna, "Peter Chester's Defense of the Mississippi After the Willing Raid," M.V.H.R., XXII (1935-1936), 20n.

Chester received notification that in the preceding November Dartmouth had been succeeded as Secretary of State by Lord George Germain.[70]

But if West Florida seemed removed from ready contact with Europe, her position was in no respect so stringent as was the plight of the colonies in revolt against Great Britain. Unable to produce an adequate quantity of the munitions of war within their own bounds, Virginia and the other colonies soon had to devise means to secure gunpowder and other ordnance materials from friendly states abroad.

In the summer of 1776 the Virginia Committee of Safety, acting through General Charles Lee,[71] sent an appeal to the Spanish "Governor of New Orleans" for assistance.[72] As their emissary the Virginia governing

---

[70]George Sackville (1716-1785), 1st Viscount Sackville, known from 1720 to 1770 as Lord George Sackville, and from 1770 to 1782 as Lord George Germain; advanced through the ranks from captain in 1737 to commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Rhine campaign, 1758-1759; dismissed following Minden and court-martialed, resulting in his disgrace, 1760; joint vice chancellor of Ireland, 1765-1766; regained popular confidence in duel with George Johnstone 1770; lord commissioner of Trade and Plantations, 1775-1779; secretary of state for the colonies, 1775-1782; created Viscount Sackville and Baron Bolebroke, 1782. D.N.B., VII, 1110-1114.

[71]Charles Lee (1731-1782) in British American army from 1755 to 1761; spent succeeding 12 years in British and Polish armies; took half-pay status in British army, 1763, and renounced it, 1775, when he became major-general in Continental forces; served erratically in American forces until captured, 1776; he is suspected of traitorous conduct while a prisoner; exchanged, 1778; court-martialed, 1778; dismissed from army, 1780. Article by R. G. Adams in D.A.B., XI, 98-101.

[72]Kathryn Trimmer Abbey [Hanna], "Spanish Projects for a Reoccupation of the Floridas During the American Revolution," Hispanic American Historical Review IX (1929), 265-284 (hereafter this periodical will be cited as H. A.H.R.).

body sent Captain George Gibson,[73] who with Lieutenant William Linn and fifteen others disguised as traders, floated away from Fort Pitt on July 19, 1776.[74] Their boat passed Natchez early in August; after their arrival at New Orleans a few days later,[75] Chester reported to Germain that he had received information that the American boat in passing Natchez had hoisted the American colors.[76]

Once in New Orleans, these American representatives were concealed from British spies in the residence of the strongest friend of the American Colonies in New Orleans, Oliver Pollock.[77] Soon Pollock arranged an inter-

---

[73]George Gibson, a Pennsylvanian, had patented land in Cumberland County in 1768. During the Revolution Gibson raised a militia company known as "Gibson's Lambs," which reinforced General Charles Lee's Virginia Troops of the Continental Line; later he served as a colonel in Washington's army. Abbey, "Span. Projs. for Reoccupation of Floridas," in loc. cit., 267n; James Alton James, Oliver Pollock, The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot (New York, London, 1937), 61.

[74]James Alton James, "Spanish Influence in the West During the American Revolution," M.V.H.R., IV (1917-1918), 193-208.

[75]James, Pollock, 61.

[76]Chester to Germain, Pensacola, October 26, 1776, (MS)MPA, Engl., VII, 36-37.

[77]Oliver Pollock (b. in N. Ireland, 1737; d. in Mississippi, 1823) migrated to Pennsylvania, 1760; engaged in West Indian trade, 1762-1768; settled in New Orleans, 1768, and was trader and land speculator in Louisiana and West Florida; agent of revolutionary Virginia, 1776, and commercial agent of U. S. at New Orleans, 1778, maintaining George Rogers Clark's army by personal credits; U. S. commercial agent at Havana, 1783-1785; resided in Pennsylvania, 1760-1762, 1785-1789, 1791-1814; resumed trade at New Orleans, 1789-1790; resided in Mississippi, 1814-1823. James, Pollock, passim; William F. Mullaney, O.M.I., "Oliver Pollock, Catholic Patriot and Financier of the American Revolution," Historical Records and Studies of United States Catholic Historical Society, XXVIII (1937), 164-236; James Alton James, "Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West," M.V.H.R., XVI (January, 1929), 67-80.

view for Gibson with the Spanish governor, Don Luis de Unzaga y Amézaga,[78] to whom he explained his mission.

The appeal which Gibson bore to Unzaga was two-fold. First, Virginia sought permission through its agent, Pollock, to purchase gunpowder and other munitions for the Continental cause; next, the governor was asked what would be the position of his government to an American expedition against Pensacola and Mobile.[79]

Unzaga permitted the purchase of nine thousand pounds of gunpowder for the use of the Colonies in rebellion, but he made the transaction most private; "Unzaga. . . privately delivered me gunpowder out of the King's store," Pollock stated, "which I delivered to Colonel Gibson, in the American service."[80] Linn, with forty-three men, set out on September 22, 1776, from New Orleans to take this valuable cargo up the Mississippi.[81] John Fitzpatrick, a trader near British-held Manchac, wrote to Chester shortly afterward, "We have nothing new which is worth mentioning except that the

---

[78]Don Luis de Unzaga y Amézaga had served in the Spanish army since 1735, the first 8 years in Spain, Italy, and Africa, and since 1743 in America; he was colonel of the regiment of Havana when he accompanied O'Reilly to Louisiana, of which he served as governor from 1769 to 1777; promoted captain-general of Caracas, 1777. Caughey, Gálvez, passim.

[79]James, Pollock, 64-67; James, "Span. Infl. in the West," in loc. cit., 195; James, "Oliver Pollock, Financier," in loc. cit., 71; Abbey, "Span. Projs. for Reoccupation of Floridas," in loc. cit., 267-268; Caughey, Gálvez, 86-87.

[80]Deposition of Oliver Pollock, June 8, 1808, quoted in Caughey, Gálvez, 87, from James M. Wilkinson, Memoirs of My Own Times (Philadelphia, 1816), II, Appendix I.

[81]James, Pollock, 69.

American Barge that went to New Orleans some time ago has repassed here [Manchac] on her way to Fort Pitt the other Day. It is said she has 15,000 some hundred pounds of gunpowder on Board. She never called here going up or down."[82]

Chester was aware of this mission to New Orleans and mentioned it in his communication of October 26 to Germain;[83] two months later he had fuller details and hastened to pass them on to Germain:

> The Account I mentioned of a Rebel Boat from Fort Pitt, Commanded by One Gibson, having arrived at New Orleans, by the Communication of the Rivers Ohio and Mississippi, was well founded, as I have since had information from a Magistrate of this Province residing in the District of the Natches, and who some time Since arrived here from New Orleans, that this Boat, or Barge Stopped at a Place called the Walnut Hills[84] in the upper part of the Colony, about the first of August last and there Some of the Party, who I understand were Soldiers in the Rebel Army, openly declared that they were on their way to New Orleans, Charged by the Congress at Philadelphia with Dispatches for the Court of Spain, and the Governor of Louisiana --
>
> Upon their arrival at New Orleans Gibson who Commanded the Party acknowledged to the Magistrate above mentioned who gave me the information, that part of his business was to Open a Trade between the Province of Louisiana, & the Colonies in Rebellion-- He also Sold the Barge in which His People Came to New Orleans, and there purchased a Batteau, in which the better to Colour his Designs, he appointed a Spanish Master, and dispatched her with his Party and about twelve or fifteen thousand Weight of Gunpowder up the Mississippi, on her Return to Pennsylvania[.]
>
> The Spanish Master of this Batteau, I hear in passing that part of this Province which lays upon the River Mississippi, claimed the Batteau, and her Lading as Spanish Property pretending that he was going to trade with the Indians of the

---

[82] Ibid., 69, quoting from page 223 of letter-book of John Fitzpatrick, 1768-1790, in New York Public Library.

[83] Chester to Germain, Pensacola, October 26, 1776, (MS)MPA, Engl., VII, 36-37.

[84] Site of the present city of Vicksburg, Miss., one hundred miles above Natches, and at the mouth of the Yazoo River.

> Spanish Territories, a great distance in the interior Country, and had hired these North Americans to assist in Rowing his Batteau--[85]

Safely past Natchez and the danger of British seizure, Lieutenant Linn and his men, exhausted from rowing their heavy cargo on short rations, stopped over the winter of 1776-1777 at the Spanish post on the Arkansas River; resuming the journey the next spring the Americans managed to reach Wheeling on May 2, 1777, in time for their powder to afford protection to that post and to Fort Pitt.[86]

Although Chester informed Germain that some thirty wine pipes of the Spanish gunpowder had been shipped by Gibson in the vessel in which he returned to Philadelphia, the governor's main concern was the unprotected state of the Mississippi River frontier. He stated that in his opinion, if the rebellion continued another year, ". . . the Rebels will Endeavor to Obtain Ammunition and Cloathing thro' the Channel of the River Mississippi . . ." Evidently he knew of Pollock's zeal in the American cause, for he mentioned, ". . . there are Some British Merchants residing at New Orleans -- who from their Conduct, are much to be suspected to be laying in Magazines for the purpose of Supplying the rebels. And I do not See how we shall be able to prevent this Evil -- . . ." If, as Chester suspected, Gibson and his associates had the added intention of spying out the strength of the Mississippi settlements, the disposition of the inhabitants to the American cause, and the like, the American Congress "may not be discouraged from the

---

[85] Same to same, Pensacola, December 26, 1776, ibid., VII, 47-53.

[86] James, Pollock, 69-70.

representations which Mr. Gibson must make on his return of Our defenceless Situation, from Sending a Party in the Spring to take possession of the Mississippi Country, unless a Sufficient body of Troops are Sent, and Posts Speedily Established on that River, to prevent any of their Attempts-- . . ."[87]

Prophetic as these views were of events but little more than a year in the future, still they did not bring about a drastic reinforcement of the western frontier. In July, 1776, a detachment of German mercenary troops reached Pensacola to supplement the meager force there,[88] and in September Chester was able to state that the troops within West Florida consisted of a few artillerymen and fourteen companies of infantry; one company was detached to Mobile, and of the 485 soldiers remaining at Pensacola, 196 were in the hospital. Little protection could be expected from the remainder, whom Chester termed "raw recruits, unacquainted with the use of Arms." No troops were on the Mississippi River frontier.[89]

On September 1, 1776, Chester wrote of information which he had received of Indian attacks upon the western borders of the colonies in rebellion, and of the importance of Indian friendship in preventing the war from spreading to the province under his protection; most alarming was the well-authenticated report of a considerable force of rebel troops massing upon the headwaters of the Tennessee and reputedly intended for a descent upon the unprotected Mississippi River settlements in the coming

---

[87] Chester to Germain, Pensacola, December 26, 1776, in loc. cit.

[88] Same to same, Pensacola, July 2, 1776, (MS)MPA, Engl., VI, 515.

[89] Chester to [commandant at Jamaica], Pensacola, September 14, 1776, ibid., VII, 5-7.

spring, all of which ". . . has greatly alarmed the Western Inhabitants who know if Hostilities are attempted against us, with what Expedition and facility the Rebels may proceed in Batteau's from fort Pitt, down the Ohio, into the Mississippi, and so take possession of all the Western Parts of this Colony: as there are no Posts or Troops in that Quarter, to Support the Inhabitants, who with the assistance of the Indians, I do not think would be sufficiently Strong -- to oppose Six or Seven thousand Men which it is Said is the intended force that is to be sent against them -- but I am however of Opinion that if a Post or two, with a Body of Troops to defend them, were Established at proper Places on the Mississippi that these, with the assistance of the Inhabitiants and Indians might prevent their getting any footing in this Province -- ."[90]

Chester's pleas for additional protection for West Florida went not wholly unanswered. The naval strength off Pensacola was augmented, and enough German mercenary troops were sent to form another battalion of the 60th Regiment. Germain wrote Chester in November of these reinforcements, adding ". . . the Safety of the very important Province under your Government, & the Protection of its Commerce have been as fully attended to as the pressing Services in other parts would in any degree admit of."[91]

On January 1, 1777, Governor de Unzaga was replaced by a new executive in Spanish Louisiana, one who would aggressively put a stop to the smuggling operations which had enriched British West Florida merchants at the expense of the lawful merchants of New Orleans. This young and

---

[90]Chester to Germain, Pensacola, September 1, 1776, ibid., VI, 541-546.

[91]Germain to Chester, Whitehall, ibid., VII, 61.

vigorous governor, Don Bernardo de Gálvez,[92] nephew of the powerful Minister of the Indies, possessed real ability as well as strong family connections.[93]

Soon after his arrival in Louisiana Gálvez inspected the military defenses of his province; particularly was he impressed by the vulnerability of the province to British attack. To him, the best plan of defense lay in attack, and he looked forward to an opportunity to close the Mississippi River to free and uninterrupted use by the British.[94]

Although one of Gálvez' duties was to put an end to illegal British trade in Louisiana, several months elapsed before he had a good pretext for carrying out his sovereign's orders and having at the same time the popular support of the inhabitants of Louisiana. In April, 1777, the West Florida, an armed British patrol vessel on Lake Pontchartrain above New Orleans, seized three small Spanish boats on the charge of illegally transporting cargoes of tar from the British side of the lake. Gálvez promptly issued an edict confiscating eleven British trading vessels with their cargoes

---

[92]Bernardo de Gálvez (1746?-1786) lieutenant in war with Portugal, 1762; as captain defended the Nueva Vizcaya frontier in the American southwest, 1769-1771; served in French Cantabrian Regiment as lieutenant, 1771-1775; lieutenant colonel at Spanish military school of Ávila; colonel of fixed regiment of Louisiana, 1776; governor of Louisiana, 1777-1783; captain-general of Cuba, 1784-1785; viceroy of New Spain at Mexico City, succeeding his father in that post, 1785-1786. D.A.B., VII, 119-120; Caughey, Gálvez, 61-68, 251-253.

[93]His uncle, José de Gálvez, possessed power second only to that of the Spanish king, and had already named his brother, Matías (Bernardo's father), viceroy of New Spain.

[94]Abbey, "Span. Projs. for Reoccupation of Floridas," in loc. cit., 268.

found at that time on the Spanish portion of the Mississippi River, stating for his authority the old prohibition against smuggling.[95]

The British were furious; Gálvez, adamant. Chester sent the frigate Atalanta to New Orleans in protest, but Gálvez out-bluffed his adversaries, and in spite of the seriousness of the situation in which he was placed by the present threat, the affair simmered to an inconclusive end.[96] Soon the smugglers resumed operations, but legally admitted French trading vessels gradually took over the bulk of foreign commerce in Louisiana, although English river vessels continued their trade on the Mississippi.[97]

Significant of the growing importance of the revolting American Colonies in Spanish eyes at New Orleans was the public respect paid to a Continental flag during a celebration. As reported through British channels, "A few days before the Atalanta arrived at New Orleans- The News of Saint Catherine's on the Coast of Brazil being taken by the Spaniards was made publick thereupon which Occasion the Armed Spanish Vessels were decked out in all their Colours, one of them hoisted at her top Gallant Mast head a Flag in which was a Snake and a hand grasping thirteen arrows and the Field divided into thirteen Stripes of different Colours- The Standard of Spain was placed on the Right Top Gallant Yard arm and that of France on

---

[95]Caughey, Gálvez, 71-72; Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain [4 vols., Serial No. 59, Vols. I-IV] (London, Dublin, Hereford, 1904-1909), I, 112-113 (hereafter cited as Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS).

[96]Ibid., 72-76; John Walton Caughey, "Bernardo de Gálvez and the English Smugglers on the Mississippi, 1777," H.A.H.R., XII (February, 1932), 46-50; Chester to Germain, Pensacola, June 11, 1777, (MS)MPA, Engl., VII, 129-130.

[97]Caughey, "Engl. Smugglers on Miss.," in loc. cit., 58; Caughey, Gálvez, 76-77; James, Pollock, 80.

the Left- "[98]

The most conspicuous feature of British colonial policy with respect to the maintenance of military protection for the Mississippi River settlements in the Natchez region during the years from 1768 to 1777 was a lack of consistency. Only the efforts of the provincial governor seem to have been directed toward providing this section with adequate protection. The destruction of Bradley's lucrative trading enterprise by an Indian disturbance in 1770 destroyed such vestiges of defense measures and means to implement them as the governor had been able to salvage from the general abandonment of the interior forts in the South. The unfortunate aspect of this disturbance was that it had come just as an immigration movement into the Natchez region was beginning to people that section; at this time especially Fort Panmure was needed as a stabilizing factor on the frontier. Chiefly the pressure of the American Revolution in the Atlantic Seaboard colonies forced Loyalist and neutral groups to persevere in their determination to migrate to West Florida and its fertile western lands, even though military protection was lacking there, and land laws were unsettled in the province.

Although West Florida was remote from the scene of the revolution, its proximity to the Mississippi River waterway brought this region uncomfortably close to the struggle; in spite of its disposition to remain aloof, its geographical position thrust it to the verge of participation in warfare. Failure of the British home government to appreciate the strategic

---

[98] Extract of intelligence contained in a letter from Henry Stuart, Esq. Deputy Supt. of Indian Affairs on the Mississippi River to Hon. John Stuart, Esq., His Majesty's Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the Southern District of North America, Manchac, August 11, 1777, (MS)MPA, Engl., VII, 309-310.

importance of maintaining a garrison at Fort Panmure in 1777 was a major blunder. Subsequent developments in the West would demonstrate the costliness of this mistake.[99]

---

[99]Apparently the economic motive was predominant among the New Englanders of the Lyman colony who continued to arrive in West Florida after the outbreak of the American Revolution; on the other hand, a desire to escape from the divided sentiments of friends and neighbers embroiled in the War impelled migration to West Florida of many Scotch-Irish families and groups from the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. James, Pollock, 118-119; Wilbur Henry Siebert, "The Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez District," M.V.H.R., II (March, 1916), 465-483 (see particularly page 468).

Chapter IV

THE WILLING RAID, 1778, AND REPERCUSSIONS

In the autumn of 1776 Governor Chester thus warned Lord Germain of troubles likely to befall the exposed western frontier:

> . . . there is great reason to apprehend, if the Rebellion Should Continue another Year that the River Mississippi will be a Channel thro' which the Rebels will receive very considerable Supplies of Ammunition unless We Obtain Strict Orders from the Court of Spain, to prevent their Subjects from furnishing these Supplies; and also keep a Sufficient Military force upon the Mississippi, to Search all Boats whatever, Carrying Ammunition up that River-[1]

His fears were well founded, even though they were not taken seriously at Whitehall.[2]

In December, 1776, the powerful Spanish minister of the Indies, José de Gálvez, dispatched orders to his nephew, Bernardo de Gálvez, giving instructions for answering General Charles Lee's plea for aid to the battling American forces. In this letter Governor Gálvez was directed to give all

---

[1]Chester to Germain, Pensacola, October 26, 1776, (MS)MPA, Engl., VII, 36-37.

[2]Germain to Chester, Whitehall, February 7, 1777, ibid., VII, 22-23.

possible aid to the Americans if he could accomplish it so secretly that Great Britain might have no occasion to protest any breach of neutrality. This permission also extended to the purchasing of supplies, if carried on through a secret agent.[3] As for the Spanish attitude toward an American attack upon Pensacola and the other English posts in West Florida, José de Gálvez gave his official approval; Spain still had territorial ambitions in this quarter, and an American triumph over the British defenders might lead to Spanish possession of the region adjacent to Spanish Louisiana, as suggested by General Lee.[4]

During the spring of 1777 considerable quantities of military supplies were sent by royal order from Havana to New Orleans for the use of the United States. Precautions were taken to hide the true destination of this consignment, but soon the fact that Spain was secretly helping the Americans became known.[5] Upon the development of this situation, Gálvez worked out even more elaborate means to confuse British spies in his midst; more and more Pollock became his confidant, and the liaison officer between the American and Spanish interests.

On May 5, 1777, Pollock reported to the Committee of Congress:

> . . .[Governor Gálvez] desires me to assure you that he will assist your troops with stores, cash and in fine everything in his Power for the benefit of the [American] Cause; therefore I hope your Honors will lose no time in sending down an express immediately by the way of the Ohio acquainting me with your intentions so that I may be prepared here with his Excellency.[6]

---

[3]James, "Span. Infl. in the West," in loc. cit., 195-196.

[4]James, Pollock, 68-69; Abbey, "Span. Projs. for Reoccupation of Floridas," in loc. cit., 268.

[5]Caughey, Gálvez, 88-90.

[6]James, Pollock, 78-79.

While Pollock was exerting all his energies to promote "the Cause" at New Orleans, another American official at Fort Pitt in Pennsylvania was likewise urging Congress to undertake a military expedition against the British in West Florida. This was Colonel George Morgan, whose familiarity with the military posts along the western frontier of West Florida was gained at first hand in 1766;[7] his intimate knowledge of the entire western scene of the war was now proving invaluable in his dual position as United States Indian agent and deputy commissary general of purchases in the West, a post which Morgan held from 1776 to 1779. On April 22, 1777, Morgan wrote at length to Gálvez of the progress of the American Revolution. He stated:

> Should we be able to procure transports in New Orleans, I think that we could easily surprise Mobile and Pensacola, destroy their fortifications, and possess ourselves of all their munitions, unless these ports be better fortified and defended than we imagine. I would pay liberally to have a plan of the fortifications, and correct information as to the garrisons and naval forces which protect these places. If one thousand men were sufficient for the contemplated expedition, and if we could, in New Orleans, purchase or charter vessels, and procure artillery, on as short notice as possible, we could strike the most successful blow in a quarter where it is least expected. But we shall never proceed to any action on the subject, before having previously obtained the permission and co-operation of your excellency, and before having secured all the transports, provisions, &c., of which we may stand in need.[8]

Morgan added that if Gálvez could not grant the foregoing aid to this invasion scheme, he hoped that at least permission for trading at New Orleans would be extended to the Americans.

---

[7]See discussion of Morgan's visit to Natchez, Chapter I.

[8]George Morgan to Bernardo de Gálvez, Fort Pitt, April 22, 1777, in Charles Gayarré, History of Louisiana, The Spanish Domination (New York, 1854), 109-110.

---

[7] See discussion of Morgan's visit to Natchez, Chapter I.

This letter probably reached New Orleans early in August, for on August 9 Gálvez replied to Morgan that he could not permit the outfitting of an American expedition against West Florida ports at New Orleans. "Although it would please me greatly, I cannot enter into it. You must rest assured that I will extend my permission and whatever assistance I can, but it must appear that I am ignorant of it all." Although Gálvez feared the concentration of so strong an Anglo-Saxon force in the vicinity of New Orleans, he was none the less willing to permit American trade: "The commerce that you desire with this province can be established from whatever point is desired or convenient, assured that those who carry it on will be well received and protected by me, holding me responsible for all."[9]

For at least a year Morgan had been urging in Congressional circles the desirability of an expedition by way of the Mississippi against British West Florida.[10] The Board of War, an executive body acting under the direction of the Continental Congress, considered the merits and demerits of Morgan's proposal. Evidently their reaction was unfavorable, for Morgan on July 6, 1777, urged Congress to consider the advisability of his plan. Thus stirred into action by Morgan's enthusiasm, Congress called for a report from the Board of War; the report was submitted July 10, and on July 24, 1777, the matter was thrown open to debate. Three members,

---

[9]Gálvez to Morgan, New Orleans, August 9, 1777, Caughey, Gálvez, 91; James A. Robertson, ed. and transl., "Letters by Governor Bernardo de Gálvez, 1777 and 1778," H.A.H.R., I (1918), 307-316 (hereafter cited as Robertson, "Letters by Gálvez").

[10]James, Pollock, 105.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

James Wilson, Benjamin Harrison, and Robert Morris,[11] spoke in defense of Morgan's proposed expedition.

Wilson favored the plan, as he felt that considerable damage could be done to the British Mississippi River settlements and those at Manchac, where little opposition would be expected; a safe retreat would be assured by way of the Mississippi, and two regiments should be sufficient to gain the ascendancy over British defenders; nevertheless, Wilson was opposed to an attack upon Mobile and Pensacola. Harrison, too, favored the expedition, as it would weaken the power of England in the estimation of the Southern Indians; he believed that the American expedition could bring back plentiful supplies, and that it had additional hope for success in

---

[11] James Wilson (1742-1798), emigrated from Scotland to Pennsylvania in 1765; commenced law practice, 1768; author of extremely radical Revolutionary pamphlet, 1774; member of Second Continental Congress, 1775-1776; signer of Declaration of Independence; member of Board of War, 1776-1777; member of Congress, 1782, 1785-1787; interested in western land schemes; a founder of Federal Constitution, 1789. Article by Julian P. Boyd in D.A.B., XX, 326-330.

Benjamin Harrison (1726?-1791), member Va. House of Burgesses, 1749-1775; member Second Continental Congress, 1775-1778; member Committees of Secret Correspondence (1775), Bd. of War and Ordnance, Marine (1776), chmn., Committee of the Whole, 1776-1777; signer, Declaration of Independence; Member, Va.H. of Delegates, 1776-1781, 1784-1791; Governor of Virginia, 1781-1784. Article by Edmund C. Burnett in ibid., VIII, 330-331.

Robert Morris (1734-1806), emigrated from England to Philadelphia, 1747; worked for mercantile firm of Willing & Co. and was admitted as partner, 1754; member Continental Congress, 1775; member of Council of Safety (1775) and of committee charged with procuring munitions; signer of Declaration of Independence; banker for the Continental forces and middle-man between manufacturers and Congress; member Pennsylvania Assembly, 1778; censured in 1779 for private commercial enterprises while an official; superintendent of finance, 1781; member of Federal Constitutional Convention, 1787-1789; U. S. Senator, 1789-1795; lost fortune from land speculations, 1798. Article by E. P. Oberholtzer in ibid., XIII, 219-223.

Spanish approval. Morris, by far the strongest proponent of the expedition, asserted that the British opposition could be counted on not to exceed three hundred men; as he saw it, Congress would have to make but a small appropriation to outfit the expedition, and in return it could expect to gain a considerable quantity of provisions and military stores. Particularly did Morris urge the danger of delay in sending the expedition. Wilson, also, pointed out that the probability of success was greatest at this time, and he suggested that new trade advantages would arise from dislodging British and Loyalists from their position on the Mississippi River frontier of West Florida.

Unexpected opposition to this plan for an American expedition, however, came from the new member of Congress from South Carolina, Henry Laurens,[12] who felt that a force of a thousand or twelve hundred men would be too few to achieve the aims desired by Congress. While he favored sending some one to New Orleans for supplies, he believed that the British were too strong on the Mississippi for a small American expedition to succeed against them. Constantly the British in West Florida were being strengthened by a stream of Loyalists from the colonies in revolt, and, furthermore, the enemy would gain information of the impending attack before it could be made, and hence it would be prepared to repel the invaders.[13] Laurens so forcefully opposed this "random scheme for a Western

---

[12]Henry Laurens (1725-1792), merchant, planter, statesman; member of Continental Congress, 1771; president of Congress, November, 1777-December, 1778; prominent in peace negotiations at end of war. Article by R. G. Albion in ibid., XI, 32-35.

[13]Charles Thompson's notes on debates in Congress, Edmund C. Burnett, ed., Letters of Members of the Continental Congress [8 volumes] (Washington, 1921-1936), II, 421-423.

[illegible] Morris, by far the strongest proponent of the expedition, [illegible] that the British opposition could be counted on not to exceed [illegible] mere; as he saw it, Congress could move to raise but a small [illegible] to the expedition, and in return it could expect to [illegible] Florida Keys and Mobile area the danger of delay in sending the expedition. Miami, also, pointed out that the possibility of success was greatest at this time, [illegible] the British evacuate from their position on the Mississippi River [illegible] West Florida.

[illegible] suggested opposition to this plan for an American expedition, however, came from the new member of Congress from South Carolina, Henry Laurens,[illegible] who felt that a force of a thousand or twelve hundred men would be too few to achieve the aims desired by Congress. Prior to [illegible] coming over to New Orleans for conferences, he believed that the British were too strong on the Mississippi for a small American expedition to succeed against them. Consequently the British in West Florida were [illegible] and by a stream of logistics from the colonies to provide [illegible]. Therefore, the army would get information of the impending [illegible] [illegible] Laurens so forcefully opposed this "rashness" from a "[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Congress's motive in [illegible] in Congress, [illegible] Laurens, [illegible] of the Continental Congress [2 volumes] (Washington, [illegible]).

enterprise" that he completely killed it, although Congress had been on the point of voting men and money for it when he took the floor.[14]

Although Congress through the painless method of legislative postponement destroyed Morgan's hopes for this expedition in the summer of 1777, Robert Morris still had plans for bringing an expedition of this nature into existence. Information which had reached him from Oliver Pollock in New Orleans indicated that provisions and military equipment were available in that city for American use, and Pollock, too, urged that the time was ripe for an expedition.[15] Not only was Morris convinced that the proper time had come for an expedition down the Mississippi, but also he felt that he could commend a suitable person to lead the party. As a member of the prominent Philadelphia mercantile firm of Willing and Morris, he was acquainted with the affairs of his senior partner, Thomas Willing, whose younger brother, James Willing, had just returned to Philadelphia after spending five unsuccessful and profligate years as a merchant at

---

[14] Laurens to General Lachlan McIntosh, Philadelphia, August 11, 1777, ibid., II, 443-444.

[15] James, Pollock, 107.

Natchez.[16] Willing, at least, had the advantage of personal acquaintance with the settlers in that remote and peaceful part of the British domain; evidently Morris believed that Willing could influence his late neighbors to side with the revolting colonies.

Apparently through Morris' good offices, Willing had several conferences with the Commerce Committee of Congress in the autumn of 1777. At these meetings he is supposed to have given information on the strength of the Loyalist element at Natchez and to have warned that the Mississippi would soon be closed to shipments of war supplies unless West Florida could be won over or compelled to aid the Americans.[17] With help from Gálvez, Pollock had been able to send from New Orleans to the American forces in the upper Mississippi region arms, ammunition, and supplies valued at $74,087 for the year 1777, alone; this surely was a source of supplies for the needy American colonies which called for protection.[18]

---

[16]James Willing was born in 1751 and died in 1801. In 1772 he received a grant for 1,100 acres of land near Natchez; the following summer he apparently was a leading citizen of Natchez, aiding in the suppression of a bandit gang. Until 1777 he was a merchant of Natchez. Late in the same year he was commissioned a captain in the U. S. Navy and organized an expedition which descended the Mississippi early the following year and placed Natchez under an oath of neutrality; below Natchez the party raided the British plantations and carried the plunder to New Orleans. There under Spanish protection the booty was auctioned off. Later in the year Willing was captured while returning to the United States, and finally was released on parole at New York. His last years were spent at Philadelphia. Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778, Compiled from the Draper Manuscripts in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. ... [Draper Series, Volume III] (Madison, 1912), 191n.

[17]Caughey, Gálvez, 103.

[18]James, Pollock, 81.

Apparently without the general knowledge of Congress, its Commerce Committee decided to send Willing at the head of a small force with the dual purpose of bringing back supplies which had been collecting at New Orleans and of securing the neutrality of the inhabitants of British West Florida. To facilitate this plan, Willing was commissioned a captain in the American navy,[19] and in December, 1777, he assembled his force at Fort Pitt.

On November 21, 1777, the "Commercial Committee" of Congress, sitting at York, Pennsylvania, directed the following instructions to the American officer in charge at Fort Pitt:

> You will receive this from the hands of Mr. James Willing who is charged with some P[ublic?]. dispatches for New Orleans, and we are directed by the Honorable Congress of which we are members to require from you one of the Continental Boats properly manned, armed and provisioned to carry him from Fort Pitt to New Orleans. . . it is of great Importance that Mr. Willing get speedily down, and that he have truely faithful People with him. . .[20]

---

[19] Caughey, Gálves, 103; Siebert, "Loyalists in W. Fla. and the Natchez Distr.," in loc. cit., 465-483. Willing's instructions have been lost; they must be inferred from his statement in a memorial to Congress in 1781 in which he remarked that he had orders ". . . to capture whatever british property he might meet with in the said [Ohio and Mississippi] rivers." Burnett, op. cit., II, 565n. As evidence that he intended to return with the supplies which Pollock had been assembling at New Orleans, Willing wrote to General Edward Hand, the American commandant at Fort Pitt, January 7, 1778, immediately before his departure, "As I expect to bring at least five boats from New Orleans laden with dry goods, & navigated by 20 or 25 men each, I request the favor of you to give. . . orders for a sufficient quantity of flour & pork to be lodged for me by the beginning of April next at the Arkansas." Thwaites and Kellogg, op. cit., 198-199.

[20] Burnett, op. cit., II, 565.

dropped on down into the Mississippi, picking up along the way irresponsible elements referred to later by Chester as "a Banditti," which brought the strength of his expedition to one hundred by the time he reached Natchez six weeks after leaving Fort Pitt.[26]

Willing had successfully eluded the outposts of whites and Indians which the superintendant of the Indian Department had stationed one hundred miles north of Natchez at Walnut Hills, and at another vantage point,[27] to furnish advance warning of any sudden attack from upstream.

As Willing approached Natchez on February 19, evidently he paused en route from Walnut Hills to enlist the support of members of the Lyman colony living in settlements near the mouth of the Big Black River, and along the Bayou Pierre, a few miles farther down the Mississippi. According to Matthew Phelps, a member of this group, who had been living in this newly settled land less than two years, Willing began to feel out the sentiment of the inhabitants and to enlist men for service in the band under his command; eighty men heeded his call. That they were persuaded

---

[26]Chester to Major General Augustine Prevost, Pensacola, March 21, 1778, Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, I, 213. Matthew Phelps, however, in his Memoirs and Adventures (page 110 ff), gives the impression that Willing recruited this additional force from among the New Englanders of the Lyman colony, situated in the upper part of the Natchez region, where the American sentiment appeared strongest.

[27]Chester to Prevost, March 21, 1778, in loc. cit., 213; Chester wrote Germain on March 25 that an advance party of forty men reached Walnut Hills at 10 P.M. on February 18 and surprised one John Watkins and four others stationed there as a guard by the superintendant, Col. Stuart. The main body of Willing's force arrived the next morning and continued to Natchez. Chester to Germain, March 25, 1778, Pensacola, (MS)MPA, Engl., VII, 347-356.

to join the American expedition is not strange, for Phelps remarks:

> This Willing was a man of ingenuity and address, he offered recruits the most encouraging terms. . .
>
> In the addresses of Willing to the settlers, he plead the cause of America with such persuasive eloquence, and represented the justness of their warfare, the bravery of their soldiers, and the moral certainty of their ultimate success, in so engaging a point of view; that backing his persuasive rhetoric with the most solemn assurances, that five thousand American troops were on their way to this quarter, to establish a territorial boundary and protect the settlers against the indians, Britons and Spaniards, or any of them, should they dare to make any intrusions, he prevailed on the settlers very generally, to take an oath of strict neutrality, they being. . . with very few exceptions, friendly to the cause of liberty [of the United States].[28]

While Phelps' assertion that the inhabitants of the Natchez region were prevailingly American in sentiment should be taken cum grano salis, it probably is correct insofar as it establishes the existence of a pro-American faction at Natchez soon after the outbreak of the American Revolution. Most of these settlers were emigrants from other parts of America, who had moved to the Natchez region from provinces torn asunder by the ravages of a civil war. Many who were Loyalists from conviction had abandoned their former homes rather than fight against neighbors and relatives. The assurance that an American force much stronger than Willing's was soon to come down the Mississippi must have been a powerful factor in convincing even the most sincere Loyalist that neutrality was but a small price to pay for remaining undisturbed.

Willing's arrival at Natchez with his motley force of more than a hundred is succinctly related in the language of the inhabitants, who recorded in the articles of neutrality that:

---

[28] Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 111-112.

> . . . on Thursday Evening the 19th Instant, Captain James Willing in the service of the United States of America, arrived with a Detachment of men under his Command at the Natchez Landing, and next morning early sent out sundry Parties, who almost at One and the same time made the Inhabitants prisoners of War, on their parole, and having hoisted the Colours of the said United States, and taken possession of the Country in their Name, the Inhabitants in this distressed and unprotected state fearing a Confiscation of their Property, thought it Necessary to Wait on the said Captain Willing to propose terms of Accommodation. . .[29]

In order to work out the details of the capitulation of the Natchez District[30] to Willing's expedition, the inhabitants chose a group of four "Delegates,"[31] at whose instance three "Associates"were empowered to act with them on this committee.[32] Among the terms proposed by these

---

[29]Preamble to the articles of neutrality adopted at Natchez, February 21, 1778, (MS)MPA, Engl., VII, 357-360; a contemporary printed version, substantially identical with the manuscript copy cited above, and dated on April 30 at Charles-Town, South-Carolina, appears in Almon, The Remembrancer, For the Year 1778, VI, 343-344; Caughey quotes from his translation of a Spanish version in his Gálvez, 107.

[30]The boundaries of the Natchez District were officially described in a bill before the provincial Assembly on October 23, 1778, as follows: "The District of the Natchez from the line drawn due East from Loftus' Cliffs. . . on the South to a line drawn due East from the Entrance of the River Yasou on the North, and from the Middle of the River Mississippi on the West to the Chactaw Indian Boundary line on the East . . ." A Bill Intituled An Act for Establishing the number of Representatives for the different Towns and Districts or Shires in this Colony; for ascertaining the rights of the Electors and the duration of the Assemblys, introduced October 23, 1778, (MS)MPA, Engl., VIII, 209-213.

[31]These delegates were William Hiorn, Esq., Samuel Wells, planter, who had been a leader of the Pennsylvania emigrants who reached Natchez in 1770, Charles Percy, Esq., and Major Luke Collins.

[32]The associates named were Isaac Johnson, Esq., Richard Ellis, Esq., and Joseph Thompson, planter.

Delegates and Associates, and agreed to by Willing, were the following:

> First- That we will not take up Arms against the United States of America or aid, abet, or in any wise give Assistance to the Enemies of the said States--
>
> Secondly- That our persons, Slaves, and other properties of what kind soever, shall remain Safe and Unmolested during our Neutrality--

The third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and eighth provisions of this agreement provided for a correct listing of the slave population, an effort to secure the neutrality of the Choctaw Indians, the formal notification to Governor Chester of the state of neutrality existing in the Natchez District, and the appointment of a delegate to accompany the expedition to New Orleans. The seventh article provided for the taking of the following oath by the delegates and their associates, to be binding upon all the inhabitants of the Natchez District:

> That they will not take up Arms or otherways Act to the prejudice of the United States of America nor will by any means Comfort or abet, furnish with Arms or Ammunition the enemies of said states, neither will they furnish the Savages with Warlike Stores, against the said States, nor in word or deed . . . treat with their Enemies but Observe a Strict Neutrality--[33]

In order to save their lives and property most of the inhabitants were willing to abide by this neutrality agreement. Nearly all the leading civil officers under British law apparently were quick to take the oath of neutrality. There was, however, one notable exception. The

---

[33] Articles of neutrality adopted at Natchez, February 21, 1778, in loc. cit.

senior magistrate of the Natchez District, Anthony Hutchins,[34] was suffering from a severe contusion at his plantation twelve miles south of Natchez on the day appointed for taking the oath. As he was unable to attend in person in order to take the oath, Hutchins sent his two sons to act in his stead, confident that this action would prove his own willingness to adhere to the agreement. Captain Willing had frequently enjoyed the hospitality of his home, and Hutchins had no intimation that the treatment accorded him would differ in any respect from that of any other Loyalists adhering to the neutrality agreement.[35]

When Willing signed the Articles of Neutrality on February 21, he added this qualification: "Agreed to in the fullest Extent, in behalf of the United States of America (All Public Officers of the Crown of Great Britain who have Property in this District excepted) those who have held Commissions and have signed the Oath of Neutrality come within the

---

[34]Anthony Hutchins (1719-1804?) before the American Revolution was a captain in the 60th Regiment of Foot; he was retired on half pay in 1762 and settled in North Carolina, where he was appointed colonel and sheriff of his county; in 1772 he emigrated to the Natchez region, and in that year and in the year following he received grants of land totalling 1434 acres, situated on the Mississippi and on Second Creek, near Natchez; during the Willing Raid he was chief magistrate of the District; later in the same year he was named major in the provincial regiment, with rank of lieutenant colonel; also in 1778 Hutchins was named representative of the Natchez District in the provincial assembly; a leader in the Natchez Rebellion of 1781, he fled to Georgia, returning five years later; from 1796 to 1798 he was a leading opponent of Andrew Ellicott during his diplomatic activities; in 1800 he gave up his British half-pay status upon election to membership in the General Assembly of Mississippi Territory, created 1798. Dunbar Rowland, Ency. Miss. Hist., I, 911-914; Claiborne, Mississippi, 127.

[35]Claiborne, Mississippi, 118. Claiborne was a grandson of Hutchins; in his collection of historical papers were many of Anthony Hutchins and of other participants in the events of colonial days.

above Articles.--"[36] The significant parts of the foregoing proviso are that officers of the Crown who had not taken the oath of neutrality were not protected by its provisions, and the agreement applied only to the Natchez District.[37]

According to Claiborne, outstanding Mississippi historian and grandson of Hutchins, Willing and his party left Natchez on their way to New Orleans and stopped at night several miles below the Natchez landing at Ellis Cliffs, the closest approach by river to Hutchins' plantation. From here Willing ". . . dispatched an armed party to the residence of Col. Hutchins, three miles from the river. They plundered the house of its plate, money and other valuables; insulted the family, carried away twelve negro men and dragged the Colonel from his sick bed, a close prisoner. Other parties sent out by Willing had plundered and arrested several of the planters. These he released by exacting from them an oath, but refused to return the property he had seized."[38]

With Hutchins as his prisoner, Willing continued downstream to the British settlements in the vicinity of the present city of Baton Rouge, where his depredations and wanton destruction of property that could not be carried off almost completely depopulated the British bank of the river. Settlers who learned of his approach refugeed with their slaves and portable property to the Spanish side of the Mississippi,

---

[36]Articles of neutrality adopted at Natchez, February 21, 1778, in loc. cit.

[37]See discussion of this aspect of the capitulation in Caughey, Gálvez, 107-108.

[38]Claiborne, Mississippi, 118. Other sources consulted are silent on this treatment of Hutchins' neighbors; possibly Claiborne based his statement on family records or tradition.

while others fled to Pensacola or to New Orleans for safety.[39] At Manchac, forerunners of Willing's party under the command of Lieutenant Thomas McIntyre, succeeded in capturing the British armed vessel, Rebecca, and paroled the inhabitants.[40] A party of volunteers from New Orleans even went up to join in the plundering of the hapless British settlers at Manchac.[41]

At New Orleans, Gálvez issued a proclamation on March 3, stating that Spain would maintain perfect neutrality, conceding "without distinction to the one or to the other the sacred right of hospitality whenever the necessity to claim it should arise."[42] Thanks to his friendship with Gálvez, Oliver Pollock obtained for Willing and his men the freedom of the town; the plunder which Willing had collected in the Manchac area was put up at auction and brought $37,500 in return.[43]

South of New Orleans some of Willing's party managed to capture

---

[39]Accounts of the misery and suffering, pillaging and burning caused by Willing's expedition in the Mississippi River settlements of West Florida south of the Natchez District, where Willing apparently observed the neutrality agreement which he had made with its inhabitants, may be found in Mrs. [Eron Opha Moore (Gregory)] Dunbar Rowland, ed., Life, Letters and Papers of William Dunbar of Elgin, Morayshire, Scotland, and Natchez, Mississippi[,] Pioneer Scientist of the Southern United States (Jackson, Miss., 1930), 60-63; Gayarré, in op. cit., 113-114; Caughey, Gálvez, 108 ff; Siebert, "Loyalists in W. Fla. and Natchez Distr.," in loc. cit., 469-470.

[40]Chester to Germain, Pensacola, March 25, 1778, (MS)MPA, Engl., VII, 347-356.

[41]Caughey, Gálvez, 110.

[42]Ibid., 111.

[43]James, Pollock, 120.

the British brig Neptune, loaded with lumber bound for Jamaica, and the Dispatch, another British vessel.[44]

According to Chester's information, Willing had increased the size of his expedition to between three and four hundred men, a by no means trivial enemy to have so uncomfortably close to the as yet uninvaded parts of West Florida.[45]

Chester at once protested to Gálvez at this unneutral attitude of the Spanish government in Louisiana; the better to give force to his remarks, he sent to New Orleans the sloops-of-war Sylph and Hound, commanded respectively by Commanders John Fergusson and Joseph Nunn.[46] The function of a British war vessel in the Mississippi at New Orleans was to prevent American vessels from leaving through the mouth of the river, to menace Willing and his men still at large in neutral New Orleans, and to effect restitution to British owners of property seized from them and taken to New Orleans. Eventually, Gálvez ordered that property taken within the territorial limits of Spanish Louisiana be returned to its owners, but what had been seized in West Florida, or on the Mississippi above Manchac, never was restored.[47]

Although Willing had left Natchez in the rôle of a pacificator, his subsequent treatment of Hutchins and his destructive raids upon British property owners in the settlements of West Florida lying to the

---

[44]Chester to Germain, Pensacola, March 25, 1778, in loc. cit.; Caughey, Gálvez, 111.

[45]Chester to Prevost, Pensacola, March 21, 1778, Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, I, 213.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Caughey, Gálvez, 114 ff.

[illegible] Vera Cruzano, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

south of the Natchez District had produced a decided revulsion of feeling among all the inhabitants of the province, regardless of their previous sympathy for the eastern colonies in revolt. Phelps probably represented the general attitude toward Willing that followed the first surge of kindly feeling for the United States upon Willing's arrival when he referred to the "real vileness" of Willing's character which characterized the unscrupulous and repeated raids upon British settlers at Manchac. "Thus by proving themselves no better than a banditti of robbers," Phelps exclaimed, "they did incalculable injury to the American cause."[48]

The various accounts agree that Willing and his band of followers lived riotously at New Orleans in a public building which Gálves had assigned for their use,[49] enjoying the profits from the plunder which they had taken upstream in British territory.[50]

According to Pollock, who soon had seen enough of Willing and his ungovernable band, the entire expedition had suffered from poor management. Writing to Congress, he complained: "As for the small Party you sent under the command of Capt. James Willing without order or subordination has only thrown the whole river into confusion and created a number of Enemies and a heavy expense which would not have happened had they been otherwise Governed and a proper number sent."[51]

Soon after the first arrival of the American party in West Florida,

---

[48]Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 112-113, James, Pollock, 125.

[49]Caughey, Gálves, 112-113.

[50]Claiborne, Mississippi, 120; Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 113.

[51]James, Pollock, 125.

[illegible] of the previous, regardless of their previous
[illegible] for the [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible]
the general attitude toward Milling that followed the first [illegible] of [illegible]
[illegible] the United States upon Milling's arrival when he referred to
the "[illegible] vileness" of Milling's character which characterized the [illegible]
[illegible] the typical [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] have no better than a basket of rubbish," [illegible] concluded,
"[illegible] [illegible] to the American [illegible]."[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] in a public building which [illegible] but
[illegible] [illegible] use," [illegible] the [illegible] from the plunder which
[illegible] taken [illegible] in British territory.[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of Milling [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] Congress, he complained: "[illegible] for the small [illegible] you
[illegible] the command of Cope. [illegible] Milling without [illegible] or [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible], [illegible].

refugees fleeing from Willing's path took word of the raid to Governor Chester at Pensacola,[52] who soon wrote of this grave threat to British control in a communication to Brigadier General Augustine Prevost.[53] Prevost was at St. Augustine, and in much the same language as he used in his report a few days later to Germain,[54] Chester gave a brief account of what he had been able to learn of Willing's activities, telling also of his own efforts to circumvent the Americans by dispatching the Sylph and the Hound to New Orleans. Of affairs in the Mississippi River settlements, Chester wrote:

> The Inhabitants of the Natchez have sent to me, desiring the assistance of 100 men from this Garrison, and promising with this support to break their Neutrality, and join the troops against the Rebels, but I found upon consulting Lieut.-Colonel [William] Stiell[55] and other Officers of the Garrison, that

---

[52]Abbey, "Chester's Defense of the Mississippi After the Willing Raid," in loc. cit., 23.

[53]Augustine Prevost (1725-1786); entered British army and served as captain under Wolfe at Quebec, 1759; lieutenant colonel, 1761; promoted colonel and arrived to command in East Florida, 1776; given command of the Southern Department upon receiving rank of brigadier general, May, 1777; commanded West Florida and East Florida until relieved of command of West Florida in autumn of 1778 by Brigadier General John Campbell; promoted major general, 1779. Ency. Amer., XXII, 565; Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, I, passim.

[54]Chester to Germain, Pensacola, March 25, 1778, (MS)MPA, Engl., VII, 347-356.

[55]William Stiell, lieutenant colonel of the third battalion of the 60th Regiment of Foot, apparently was the senior officer in command at Pensacola in 1777 and 1778; he seems to have worked in close cooperation with the civil government as well as with Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Dickson, of the 16th Regiment of Foot, who was soon to have command of the operations intended to protect the Mississippi River settlements. Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, I and II, passim.

such a Detachment could not be spared from hence, without endangering the safety of this place, should the Rebels come against it in any force. . . . it is not thought prudent to detach a Man from our present Strength; altho. I have the measure much at heart, and if Willing should be prevented, by the King's Ships in the Mississippi, from geting to Sea, and return to take post at the Natchez, He will continue with his Banditti to Keep possession of that Country, unless the Chactaw Indians and what white men can be procured in their Nation, March against him.

. . . . . .

I am endeavouring, if we can find Men to raise a Provincial Corps under the Command of John McGillivray Esquire, who has greater influence about Mobile, and with the Traders in the Indian Country, than any other Person in the Province: I however still doubt, whether he will be able to collect more than 100 Men, and that they will not agree to be embodied longer than for the Expedition to the Natchez; so that should this Party of the Rebels be drove out of the Colony and no Men Kept up at the Natchez in future, to support the Inhabitants; they will not only abandon that Settlement but all the Inhabitants on the banks of the Mississippi, and in the Western parts of the Province, will . . . also, remove, least a second plundering party should come against them, and which one hundred troops would have prevented.[56]

Meantime, the inhabitants of the Natchez country had been faced by the necessity of adopting measures for their own protection, without waiting to learn the attitude of the distant Pensacola government.

Anthony Hutchins, the Natchez chief magistrate, had been forced to accompany Willing as a prisoner in his descent to New Orleans. There he had been granted his liberty while in the city, but he was forced to raise, through a private loan, a thousand-dollar bond to insure his staying there. Soon Hutchins secured information which led him to believe that Willing had determined to send a raiding party toward Natchez, presumably to carry on there the same sort of pillaging, theft, and destruction that had marked his activities in the Baton Rouge and Manchac regions to the south. As his grandson and chief apologist, Claiborne, expresses it,

---

[56]Chester to Prevost, March 21, 1778, ibid., I, 213-215.

". . . Colonel Hutchins determined to escape. Not regarding as binding an engagement made with a man who had changed his mission of peace into the raid of a jay-hawker, a brigand and not a soldier, . . . he resolved to forfeit his money and hasten to Natchez to apprize his friends of their danger."[57] This urgent flight from New Orleans has been described by Governor Chester, who remarked that Hutchins

> . . . privately left New Orleans and making the most Extraordinary Expedition he very soon arrived at the Natches where after Summonsing the Inhabitants he acquainted them with the Intentions of the Rebels to plunder the Settlement and Recommended to them to take up Arms and defend their property but few would attend to him declaring that they would abide by their Agreement of Neutrality. Finding himself therefore supported only by a few he sent off privately to Captain [Thaddeus] Lyman in the Upper part of the District who immediately with his Friends came down to assist Colonel Hutchins. Being thus supported until his party grew strong he then Seized upon the Suspicious, prevailed on some, Intimidated others and at length by great address armed the Country. . .[58]

Matthew Phelps, a participant in the events which swiftly followed Hutchins' return to Natchez and arousing of the inhabitants, thus describes what took place:

> Having . . . received timely information of their infamous design, we turned out in our own defence, and immediately concerted measures for their suitable reception. We formed an armed association of about five hundred men, and determined to stand firmly upon the defensive, let the consequences be what they would.
>
> In a short time after this association was formed, agreeably to our information previously received, the banditti from near

---

[57] Claiborne, Mississippi, 120-121.

[58] James A. Padgett, ed., "The Reply of Peter Chester, Governor of West Florida, To Complaints Made Against His Administration," L.H.Q., XXII (January, 1939), 31-46.

Manchac, arrived in our vicinity, but kept on the other side of the river.[59]

According to Phelps, the "associated company" of Natchez inhabitants were drawn up in military array near Ellis Cliffs, several miles south of Natchez, when the boat bearing Lieutenant Reuben Harrison, himself formerly a Natchez settler, and his detachment of soldiers came into view. The day was April 16.[60] Upon seeing the warlike array upon the bank, Harrison sent a messenger across the river under flag of truce and through him learned that the inhabitants would receive them cordially if they came with peaceful intent, otherwise they might not land. The signal agreed upon during the parley was a firing of three guns by Harrison's group, if he desired peace, to be followed by three gunshots from the opposite bank of the river, as a token of acceptance of Harrison and his band. These agreed signals were exchanged, and the boat began to cross to where the inhabitants awaited it, no longer drawn up in martial array. As Harrison pushed off from the Louisiana shore, the thirty-six members of this band drank to the success of their venture; Harrison is quoted as exlaiming, "I'll reign king of the Natchez hills this night or be in hell."

The curious crowd of watchers saw Harrison give orders to one Canady, another former member of the Natchez community and now one of Harrison's crew, to load the swivel-gun in the bow with thirty-five musket balls. The boat was now three hundred yards from shore, and the group on the bank suspected no trickery, although they could hear orders given in the boat approaching.

---

[59]Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 113-114.

[60]Abbey, "Chester's Defense of the Miss. After the Willing Raid," in loc. cit., 29.

All sprang to life, however, when they heard Harrison order Canady to fire the loaded swivel-gun, and they shouted to Canady that he was a dead man if he obeyed Harrison's order. But Canady, with Harrison's loaded pistol against his head, had no choice; he fired the cannon, and a number on shore were wounded. This attack immediately drew the fire of those on shore, and in the first volley about a half dozen of the Americans were killed, including Harrison, Canady, and Ellis, another of Willing's subalterns. The surviving members of the expedition were easily taken prisoners.[61]

According to the American version of this encounter, Harrison was going to Natchez merely to enforce the neutrality agreement. A league below Ellis Cliffs a sympathetic settler warned him that an ambush had been prepared for the Americans. Harrison sent this settler on to carry assurances of his peaceful mission, with a single gunshot the agreed signal that the inhabitants recognized his true friendliness. The signals were exchanged, and Harrison was approaching the shore when he sensed that he was trapped. This same account then relates that Harrison shouted to all true friends to the United States to stand apart, whereupon those on the bank countered with a demand for all friends of Natchez in the boat either to jump into the water or else to keep below the gunwales. The boat had now become unmanageable in an eddy near shore, and in the confusion it was asserted that one of Col. Hutchins' henchmen, Cephas Kenard, fired on the Americans in the boat, thus commencing the firing from both sides.[62]

---

[61]Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 114-118.

[62]Deposition of James Truly, November 6, 1797, in Andrew Ellicott; The Journal of Andrew Ellicott, Late Commissioner on Behalf of the United States During Part of the Year 1796, the Year 1797, 1798, 1799, and Part of the Year 1800: For Determining the Boundary Between the United States and the Possessions of His Catholic Majesty in America...(Philadelphia,1803),130-132.

[illegible]. [illegible], 132-133.

Irrespective of which group fired the first shot, the outcome left no doubt that Natchez had renounced its neutrality. Phelps thus commented upon the changed state of affairs:

> This most detestable business being thus far settled, we held a consultation upon the present unhappy aspect of our affairs, and the conduct it had now become necessary for us to pursue: the result of which was, that under the direction of a British magistrate who resided among us [Anthony Hutchins?], who still retained his commission, and had not taken with us the oath of neutrality to the United States, we would form ourselves into a garrison, acknowledge ourselves British subjects, and turn out as universally as necessary, to protect ourselves and the settlement: the proceedings of the banditti under Willing and Harrison, having absolved us from the obligations, under which we had formerly lain.
>
> Having come to this conclusion, we chose our officers, and became regularly embodied, turning out occasionally by guards and patrols, to inspect and defend the settlement, viewing our situation as considerably exposed. The first military operation of consequence which we performed, was fixing up an old fort at the Natches, called fort Penmore [Panmure], where we entered on regular garrison duty. . .[63]

Thus was Fort Panmure re-occupied by a British military force for the first time since its last garrison was withdrawn ten years before.

In reporting the outcome of the affair at Ellis Cliffs, in which Harrison's Americans had been defeated, Hutchins informed Governor Chester that "the American colors were soon torn down and now lay dejected at our feet and those of the Britannic Majesty most splendidly appear in triumph."[64]

A few days earlier, Chester had written to Lord Germain that John McGillivray, of Mobile, had agreed to raise a provincial troop of five

---

[63]Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 118-119.

[64]Abbey, "Chester's Defense of the Miss. After the Willing Raid," in loc. cit., 30; Hutchins' letter was dated April 21, 1778.

companies for the protection of the Natchez settlement, and those to the south still overrun by Willing's band.[65] Presumably Colonel McGillivray with his Loyalist troop reached Natchez late in April or early in May; there he was joined by a number of British inhabitants, eager to serve in this regularly authorised regiment. With him he brought a commission for Anthony Hutchins as major, who in McGillivray's absence performed the duties of a lieutenant colonel. A number of the settlers were willing to hold rank as captains, but comparatively few wished to serve as private soldiers. Nevertheless, a large number of these Natchez militiamen accompanied Colonel McGillivray and his troopers in a foray which routed Willing's forces from the Manchac area and there re-established British rule.[66] Phelps, who was a member of this "corps of volunteers," states that the residue of Willing's gang fled at the approach of this British force; "here we repaired another old fort [Fort Bute], which we left well garrisoned in a few days after, by a party of associated settlers."[67]

Lieutenant Colonel Stiell had sent a detachment of seventy-five men from Pensacola to occupy Fort Bute, and the cooperation afforded by the provincial troop and the neighboring settlers was sufficient to prevent further raids by the soldiers and "banditti" under Willing's command. The Mississippi River settlements were once more under British rule;[68]

---

[65] Chester to Germain, Pensacola, April 14, 1778, (MS)MPA, Engl., VII, 365-370.

[66] Chester to Germain, Pensacola, August 24, 1778, ibid., VII, 533-538.

[67] Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 119-120.

[68] Brigadier General Augustine Prevost to General Sir William Howe, St. Augustine, June 5, 1778, Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, I, 260-261.

once again Great Britain was able effectively to blockade the Mississippi River and prevent regular communication between New Orleans and the American forces at Fort Pitt on the headwaters of the Ohio.[69]

Although Pollock, and other American emissaries at New Orleans, repeatedly urged Congress to send a sufficiently large and properly commanded party to retake Natchez and Manchac, and even to capture Pensacola, his suggestions were not adopted;[70] Willing's raid had so thoroughly turned the Natchez country against the American interest that the time for an effective blow had passed; West Florida now had begun to re-arm.

Willing's position at New Orleans had become increasingly embarrassing to Pollock and to Gálvez. Now that British ships patrolled the Gulf in greater strength and British forces were once more in possession of the Mississippi River, his effectiveness had disappeared; the problem now was to return with his followers to the United States. Finally, in August, 1778, sixty of Willing's soldiers, under the leadership of Lieutenant Robert George, secured a safe-conduct from Gálvez and proceeded by a circuitous route through Spanish territory in order to avoid seizure by revengeful British citizens of West Florida; ultimately they reached the United States and safety.[71]

---

[69]Abbey, "Chester's Defense of the Miss. After the Willing Raid," in loc. cit., 32.

[70]James Alton James, "Oliver Pollock and the Free Navigation of the Mississippi River," M.V.H.R., XIX (December, 1932), 331-347; James, Pollock, 130.

[71]Permission by Gálvez for American troops under Lieutenant George to pass through Louisiana, August 19, 1778, document reproduced in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., "American Penetration into Spanish Louisiana," New Spain and the Anglo-American West: Historical Contributions to Herbert Eugene Bolton [2 volumes, privately printed at Los Angeles, 1932], I, 211-237; Caughey, Gálvez, 131-132.

For Willing, escape from New Orleans was more difficult. According to one colorful story, he made his way to the Tensaw settlements near Mobile, failing there to create an uprising against British rule. This same account tells that he was captured by the British and barely escaped hanging, but eventually he was taken a prisoner to New York and subsequently was exchanged.[72] More probable, however, is the belief that Pollock, disgusted with Willing, shipped him out by sloop bound for Philadelphia; the sloop was captured, and he was taken to New York; later, he was exchanged; the remainder of his life was obscure.[73]

Although West Florida as a whole was comparatively peaceful during the year that followed the re-establishment of British sovereignty on the Mississippi River, the Natchez settlement experienced no comparable calm. As Captain Phelps had an active part in affairs at Natchez for the next few years and has left the most detailed account of happenings there, his narrative forms the basis for present knowledge of what took place there in 1778 and 1779.

Early in the summer of 1778, Phelps, who had been a resident in the Natchez District for the past two years, enlisted in the garrison of Fort Panmure. The fort, soon after its rehabilitation, had been placed under the temporary command of Captain Michael Jackson, a man whom Phelps recognized as having been apprehended, years earlier, for horse-stealing

---

[72]Siebert, "Loyalists in W. Fla. and the Natchez Distr.," in loc. cit., 472; Peter J. Hamilton, Colonial Mobile: An Historical Study, Largely from Original Sources, of the Alabama--Tombigbee Basin and the Old South West ... 1519 ... [to] 1821, Revised and Enlarged Edition. (Boston and New York, 1910), 311; Caughey, Gálvez, 132.

[73]Ibid.

American expedition, which would take over Natchez and prove a more wholesome influence than had Willing's party. Without establishing contact with the strangers, these scouts hurried back to Natchez with the news of this expedition. At once Jackson sent a messenger up to meet the party and discover its intentions. Much to the relief of Loyalist Natchez, the flotilla proved to be a party of thirty or forty white emigrants from South Carolina, under the leadership of a Colonel Guillard and a Dr. Farrar,[76] who with about four hundred slaves and their possessions had made their way westward to the Tennessee River. There they made boats in which they floated downstream to Natchez, as they had heard that the region was neutral in the Revolution.[77] With Jackson's permission, these immigrants passed Natchez October 1 and continued on toward Manchac, where they already owned lands.[78]

Late in 1778, Phelps went down to Manchac under orders from Jackson to bring up additional troops for Fort Panmure, as the provincial government evidently had sent reinforcements to that post from

---

[76]Benjamin Farrar, a prominent colonial inhabitant of South Carolina, was involved in the South Carolina Yazoo land transactions about 1790. Arthur P. Whitaker, "The South Carolina Yazoo Company," M.V.H.R., XVI (December, 1929), 383-394.

[77]Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 125-127; (MS)MPA, Engl., VIII, 236, 241-242.

[78]Rowland, Life, Letters and Papers of Wm. Dunbar, 64.

Pensacola.[79]

Upon his return to Fort Panmure toward the middle of December, 1778, Phelps decided to withdraw from the garrison of the fort, as his term of enlistment had ended; Jackson, however, refused to permit his departure and had Phelps thrown in the guard-house. Soon he was brought before an improvised court martial composed of three lieutenants and tried on the charges of mutiny and premeditated desertion. Phelps states that this sham trial took place on January 12, 1779. In it he effectively argued that Lieutenant Pentacost and his two fellow-officers were without sufficient authority to form a military court, demanding as his right a general court martial, and protesting his innocence. Thanks to this spirited defense, Phelps was released, and at once he made preparations to leave Fort Panmure for the Bayou Pierre region north of Natchez.[80]

---

[79] Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 129. The commander-in-chief of British forces in North America, Sir Henry Clinton (1738?-1795) who in April, 1778, had succeeded Lord William Howe (1729-1814) in that position, ordered Brigadier General John Campbell on October 27, 1778, to proceed with a large troop from New York to Pensacola to assume command of the British forces in West Florida, replacing Sir Augustine Prevost in that jurisdiction. Construction of a new fort near the site of Fort Bute at Manchac had already been ordered, and this post was to be reinforced by detachments from the Waldeck Regiment of German mercenary troops accompanying General Campbell south from New York. Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, I, 323. A biographical sketch of Lord William Howe appears in D.N.B., X, 102-105, while a like sketch of Sir Henry Clinton is in ibid., IV, 550-551. For a discussion of the Waldeck and other German mercenary troops see Max von Eelking, The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence, 1776-1783, translated by J. G. Rosengarten [Munsell's Historical Series, No. 19] (Albany, 1893), 218 ff; apparently the troops stationed at Manchac numbered approximately five hundred before the arrival of the Waldeck Grenadiers early in 1779.

[80] Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 129-148.

At the time of Phelps' difficulties with Captain Jackson, the commandant of Fort Panmure, the former regimental status of the provincial militia had been abolished. Colonel McGillivray had visited Natchez in November, 1778, and upon his return to Pensacola reported to Governor Chester that his regiment comprised only one lieutenant colonel, one major, six captains, five lieutenants, five ensigns, and but sixty-seven rank and file.[81] Upon the advice of the newly-arrived Brigadier General John Campbell, Chester obtained an order from the provincial Council disbanding the regiment and from it he formed two independent companies under the leadership of Captains Anthony Hutchins and Thaddeus Lyman.[82] These were the leaders who had successfully withstood Lieutenant Reuben Harrison's attempt to regain possession of Natchez for the American cause, and they had inspired the subsequent restoration and re-occupation of Fort Panmure; indeed, they were in command of the Natchez home guard when Captain Michael Jackson arrived with orders from those in authority at Pensacola entitling him to have command of the fort.[83] Naturally enough, both Hutchins and Lyman sympathised with Phelps in his persecution by Captain Jackson, as did a large part of the garrison; feeling ran high over the affair.

Shortly after the conclusion of his military trial, Phelps left Fort Panmure to return to the northern part of the Natchez District in order to have a boat made there for his trip to Pensacola. If he could reach

---

[81]Chester to Germain, Pensacola, November 27, 1778, (MS)MPA, Engl., VIII, 235-238.

[82]Brigadier-General John Campbell to Sir Henry Clinton, Pensacola, April 7-13, 1779, Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, I, 411-413; Padgett, "Reply of Chester to Complaints," in loc. cit., 45.

[83]Claiborne, Mississippi, 123.

officials there, he was certain that he would obtain justice for himself and other members of the garrison suffering from Jackson's tyranny. A few days after his arrival in the heart of the Lyman colony on the Bayou Pierre, Phelps was visited by three members of the garrison of Fort Panmure. These soldiers had been sent by Captain Jackson to bring Phelps back for further persecution, but as their sympathies lay with Phelps, they met him as friends and told him of recent events at Natchez.

Shortly after Phelps' departure from the fort at the middle of January, 1779, Captain Hutchins and Lyman, in concerted action with a large part of the garrison, assumed control of the fort. Captain Lyman became the commandant of the fort and at once issued orders for the arrest of Jackson and his officer associates; through his goodness, however he permitted Jackson and his following to remain at large on parole, carrying their side arms, until an official report of affairs at the fort could be prepared and sent to Pensacola with the arrested soldiers. As Phelps tells the story,

> . . . a night or two after this generous permission was granted, and before the requisite statement could be made, Jackson, with a party of his adherents secured the centries, beat suddenly to arms in the night, overpowered Lyman's party, regained possession of the fort, confined Captain Lyman in his own house, placing two centinels at his door, and sent off Captain Hutchins, to Pensacola, to be there tried on a charge of mutiny.[84]

---

[84] Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 153; according to Claiborne, who is inclined to make Hutchins the central figure in all events of which he was a participant, Col. Hutchins as magistrate led the citizens and volunteers in the revolt and himself took the responsibility of arresting Jackson on the basis of his oppressive and arbitrary conduct. Captain Thaddeus Lyman assumed command, and Jackson was released on his promise to resign his commission and leave the country. Claiborne, Mississippi, 123.

[illegible]. Phelps [illegible] that he would [illegible] toward the [illegible] and other members of the garrison [illegible] days after his arrival in the heart of the Loyalist colony on the Bayou Pierre, Phelps was visited by three members of the garrison of Fort Panmure. These soldiers had been sent by Captain Jackson to bring Phelps to the fort for examination, but as their sympathies lay with Phelps, they met him as friends and told him of recent events at Natchez.

Shortly after Phelps' departure from the fort at the middle of January, 17[illegible], Captain [illegible] and [illegible] Brown, in concerted action with a large part of the garrison, assumed control of the fort. Captain Lyman became the commander of the fort and at once issued orders for the arrest of Jackson and his officer [illegible]; through his promises, however he persuaded Jackson and his following to remain at large on parole, carrying their side arms, until an official report of affairs at the fort could be prepared and sent to Pensacola with the [illegible] soldiers. As Jackson tells the story:

> . . . a night or two after this generous permission was granted, and before the requisite statement could be made, Jackson, with a party of his adherents secured the sentries, went suddenly in arms to the [illegible], overpowered Lyman's party, regained possession of the fort, confined Captain Lyman in his own house, placing him [illegible] of his own, and sent off Captain [illegible], to Pensacola, to be there tried on a charge of mutiny.64

---

64 [illegible], Travels and Adventures, 155; according to Claiborne, who is inclined to make Jackson the central figure in all events of which he was a participant, [illegible] in the revolt and [illegible] the responsibility of arresting Jackson on the basis of his oppressive and arbitrary conduct. Captain [illegible] Lyman assumed command, and Jackson was released on his promise to resign his commission and leave the country. Claiborne, Mississippi, 119.

Next, Jackson recalled that his conduct toward Phelps had precipitated the entire situation, and he forthwith sent out detachments in pursuit of Phelps, with directions to bring him in, dead or alive, fearing the disclosures that Phelps would make in Pensacola. Immediately after these searching parties had been sent out, Captain Lyman managed to escape from his guards and went to the fort, where without bloodshed he once more resumed command. As for Jackson and his fellow officers, Lyman offered them their choice of remaining disarmed in the fort, subject to his command, or of withdrawing from the fort and living peaceably in the community until some decision in their case might be received from Pensacola.

> . . .Jackson and his party chusing to retire, were allowed by Captain Lyman the possession of their side arms, and being soon after joined by about thirty privates, who had eluded the vigilance of Captain Lyman, and deserted from the fort, during the agitation of these swiftly succeeding scenes, Jackson, with their aid, took possession of some ammunition and artillery that was out side of the fort, at the outer guard house, and had secured themselves at the landing, about half a mile from the fort, where they kept regular guard, and declared they would try by court martial and whip every soldier they caught out of the fort, who would not join their party.[85]

Thus matters at Natchez stood when the soldiers sent out by Jackson when he was still in power reached Phelps in the upper part of the province. His decision was to return to the fort and aid his friends, as the soldiers had heard the latest news before locating Phelps. On January 24 Phelps returned to Fort Panmure and placed himself under the protection of Captain Lyman.[86]

As Jackson's resources had run very low, and he saw no means of

---

[85]Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, 155.

[86]Ibid., 156.

[illegible] Charles Dickens [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

making any headway unless he recaptured the fort, he sent word to the Choctaw Indians that a party of Americans had seized control of Fort Panmure, and that the loyal British troops under his command at the Natchez landing needed Indian help in regaining control of the fort from these dangerous enemies both to Great Britain and to her allies, the Choctaw Nation. This appeal brought results, and soon five hundred Choctaw warriors with their head men had joined Jackson and his desperate gang, who were cannonading the fort with grape-shot. The Indians might have proved sufficient strength to take the fort by assault had not their head men begun asking questions. Why did the soldiers who could be seen on the firing platforms of the fort wear the same uniforms as worn by Jackson's men, and why did they fly the same flag from the fort as that carried by Jackson's attackers if they were Americans? These Indians had arrived shrewdly at a true concept of what was taking place: as Phelps expresses it, the Indians observed that Jackson and his followers ". . . did not act like indians, but like bad men, old women and silly children, in quarrelling without a cause, and fighting without a prospect of national advantage."[87] As a consequence, the Indians left Jackson's party; their leaders were admitted to the fort and told Captain Lyman of the deception practiced upon them. Soon satisfied that the fort was still in the hands of lawful British authority, the Choctaw chiefs with their warriors returned eastward to their homes, without giving Jackson further help.

Jackson's next move was to propose a parley leading to a settlement of the differences between the rival groups. Lyman agreed, and with

---

[87] Ibid., 159.

Phelps and a certain Lieutenant Carter, he met three representatives from Jackson's group. Jackson's proposals were that he and his followers be re-admitted to the fort, there to submit to Lyman's command, while a joint statement of their differences should be prepared and submitted to the officers in command at Pensacola. This plea for harmony appealed to Lyman and to Carter, although Phelps was suspicious of any proposal emanating from the former horse-thief. Regardless of Phelps' distrust, Captain Lyman permitted Jackson and his renegades to become once more members of the garrison of Fort Panmure.

Two nights later, however, while Phelps happened to be spending the night at a friend's home some distance from the fort, Jackson and his associates, running true to form, once more seized control of affairs in the fort and shut Captain Lyman up in the guard-house, under strong guard. As before, his next move was to send out a searching party to bring in Captain Phelps, dead or alive. Fortunately, Captain Lyman had managed to send a friendly soldier to warn Phelps to be on the alert.

Phelps had heard that an American spy had been in the District for several days, observing its weaknesses, and that this man had just left to return to his command, presumed to be a considerable force on the Mississippi not far above Natchez. Resolving that it would be better to join the American expedition and receive their protection for the present than to be murdered immediately by Jackson's villains, Phelps made arrangements for a dozen members of the garrison to slip away and join him in this attempt to escape from the turmoil existing at Fort Panmure. Six men joined Captain Phelps from the fort, and by marching in a circuitous way to avoid capture, they managed to reach the settlements in the Bayou Pierre region

about February 10, 1779.[88]

Within a few days after Phelps and his companions had reached the comparative safety of the New England settlements on the Bayou Pierre, they were joined by a second small group of refugees from Fort Panmure. The leader of this second group was John Felt, another of the Connecticut emigrants.[89] Shortly after leaving the fort, this second group had been overtaken by parties led by Lieutenants Holmes and Pentacost, members of Jackson's coterie. These searchers had been on the point of shooting Felt and his companions when Felt turned on Pentacost and mortally wounded him, then grappled with Holmes and disarmed him. Holmes called a truce and agreed to take the dying Pentacost back to Natchez while Felt and his companions were permitted to continue their flight.

Word which the still captive Captain Lyman managed to send Phelps warned him of an extensive search in progress, with high rewards offered for the capture of Phelps and his associates. This alarming information forced a change in plan; Phelps and his friends abandoned their former intention of ascending the Mississippi to join any American forces on that stream; instead they continued ten leagues farther on from Bayou Pierre to the Big Black River. Here they bought a boat and commenced the descent of the Mississippi River to the Manchac settlements below Natchez. By travelling only by night they managed to elude searching parties on the river as well as on land, and as their boat floated silently past Natchez, they could hear the sentries in Fort Panmure calling "All's well!" from the

---

[88] Ibid., 174.

[89] Ibid., appendix 63.

summit of the bluff.[90]

Without further incident, Phelps and his companions reached the protection of the Spanish post on the south side of the Iberville River, not one hundred rods distant from the British fort of Manchac, on the north side of this boundary line.

Through the intermediacy of Captain Juan Delavillebeuvre, the Spanish commandant, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Dickson of the 16th Regiment of Foot (Royal Scots Fusiliers), commander of the British post of Manchac and of all the western defenses of British West Florida,[91] requested an interview with Phelps, as he had received conflicting statements from Lyman and Jackson respecting affairs at Natchez, and he wished to learn Phelps' version of what had taken place. Phelps agreed to cross over to the British bank of the Iberville for this discussion with Dickson. During his first interview with Dickson, Phelps related frankly all that had happened at Natchez, telling of all the events which had taken place since the fort had been reoccupied by British forces. At Dickson's suggestion, Phelps agreed to revisit Natchez and aid in bringing Jackson to justice. Already Lieutenant Colonel Dickson had received sufficiently damning evidence of Jackson's unfitness to command the garrison at Fort Panmure to warrant his sending a new commandant in his stead. Captain Anthony Forster, also of the 16th Regiment, was the officer selected for this important post, where wise administration and tact no less than military skill were requisite.

---

[90] Ibid., 187.

[91] Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Dickson, commanding on the Mississippi, to Brigadier General John Campbell, Manchac Fort, March 12, 1779, Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, I, 397.

command of the bluff.[66]

Without further incident, Phelps and his companions reached the protection of the Spanish post on the south side of the Iberville River, at only several rods distant from the British fort at Manchac, on the [illegible] of this journey, [illegible].

Through the intermediacy of Captain Juan Delavillebeuvre, the Spanish commandant, an interview with Colonel Alexander Dickson of the 16th Regiment of Foot (Royal [illegible]), commander of the British post at Manchac [illegible].[67] [illegible] British version of what had taken place. Phelps agreed to cross over to the British side of the Iberville for this discussion with Dickson. During his first interview with Dickson, Phelps related frankly all that had happened at Natchez, telling of all the events that had taken place since the fort had been reoccupied by British forces. At Dickson's suggestion, Phelps agreed to revisit Natchez and use his influence to restore justice. [illegible] Dickson's [illegible] to command the garrison at Fort Panmure [illegible]. Captain [illegible], also of the 16th Regiment, was the officer selected for this important post, where wise and discretion [illegible] no less than military skill [illegible].

---

[66] Ibid., 348.

[67] Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Dickson, commanding on the Mississippi, to Brigadier General John Campbell, Manchac Fort, March 18, 1779, [illegible], XIX, 407.

Armed with certificates that would enable him to establish his own claims for services rendered in the garrison, and carrying official communications for Captain Forster, Phelps reached Natchez April 5, 1779. The pass which Dickson had given him on leaving Manchac proved serviceable, as his old enemies of the Jackson faction offered Phelps fresh indignities upon his return to Fort Panmure. His old friends, however, welcomed Phelps warmly to the garrison, telling him that upon Captain Forster's arrival, Jackson had evidently feared the harm that would come to him in a complete investigation of his own dubious career; accordingly, he gathered up as much portable property belonging to the garrison as possible and quietly departed, leaving behind his old officers and associates to stand ultimate trial at Pensacola for their misdeeds. One of Forster's first acts upon reaching Fort Panmure had been the release of Captain Lyman, one of the chief sufferers from Jackson's abominable misuse of authority.[92]

With the sending off of the last of the Jackson adherents to punishment in Pensacola, Fort Panmure at Natchez under the command of Captain Forster enjoyed a few months of comparative quiet. Its commanding position overlooking the river made it still an excellent point from which to control all traffic on the Mississippi. Doubtless in accordance with instructions, Captain Forster forced all river craft to halt at Natchez in passing. This practice afforded the British an opportunity to prevent

---

[92]According to Claiborne, several of Jackson's officers and men were taken as prisoners to Pensacola, where some were ordered shot. Op. cit., 124. Of Michael Jackson's subsequent career, only the following item has been found. His name was included among those supernumary officers entitled to pay for services as a captain or leader of Indians for the second quarter of 1780; thus he was still on the rolls of the Indian Department a year after the close of his disgraceful career at Natchez. Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, II, 147.

the conveying of supplies from Spanish Louisiana to the American forces at the headwaters of the Ohio. Even Spanish vessels were halted by the British commander for inspection.[93]

While affairs at Fort Panmure had become considerably settled by the summer of 1779, military activity in the Manchac region to the south continued brisk. Lieutenant Colonel Dickson had arrived late in February to give the preparations there his undivided attention,[94] and soon he was engrossed with the difficulties of constructing a fort where materials, labor, and time were all difficult to find. When he had been at Manchac about three weeks, Dickson reported to General Campbell that the place where he was directed to build the fort was flooded by high water, he was bothered by desertions from his force, provisions were difficult to secure, and he estimated that the task of constructing a fort there would require a year, with Spanish labor from across the river the only source at his disposal.[95] Early in April General Campbell announced the receipt of information from Colonel Dickson that was by no means encouraging. Late in March fourteen carpenters of the Waldeck Regiment stationed at Manchac struck for higher wages, declaring that they were inadequately paid for their work on the fort, as their daily wage of fifteen pence York Currency was barely suffi-

---

[93]Brigadier General John Campbell to Sir Henry Clinton, Pensacola, July 19, 1779, ibid., I, 477. In this letter Campbell requests that additional funds be paid to Captain Forster as he was put to considerable expense in entertaining the Spanish officers of the boats which he had halted for inspection.

[94]William Dunbar recorded in his journal on March 7, 1779: "Coll. Dickson with a part of the 16th Regt. arrived at Manshac about 10 Days ago. . ." Rowland, Life, Letters and Papers of Wm. Dunbar, 68.

[95]Dickson to Campbell, Manchack Fort, March 12, 1779, in op. cit., 397.

[illegible]

cient to pay for the bread each German soldier consumed.[96]

By the middle of July, 1779, the British forces at Manchac numbered in excess of one thousand, as it seemed to Governor Gálvez in Spanish Louisiana.[97] These military preparations so close to the exposed frontier of Spanish Louisiana appeared to Gálvez as a grave threat at the safety of his province.

Meanwhile, European agreements and treaties and declarations of war were being effected which soon would alter the colonial picture in America. France had decided to enter the war against Great Britain as an ally of the United States. Spain offered her services as a mediator, but her good offers were rejected by the British. The time now seemed ripe for entry into the war against Great Britain and as an ally of France and the United States. Warning that a move of this nature was imminent was dispatched on May 18 from the Spanish court to colonial officials; the actual declaration of war on Great Britain came on June 21, 1779, following an agreement between Spain and France.[98] On July 17 news of the war between Spain and England reached Havana,[99] and by the end of the month Gálvez had learned of it; on August 20 the independence of the United States was publicly proclaimed at new Orleans,[100] and nine days later Gálvez received

---

[96]Campbell to Clinton, Pensacola, April 13, 1779, Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, I, 411-413.

[97]Caughey, Gálvez, 139.

[98]Ibid., 149; James, Pollock, 193.

[99]Caughey, Gálvez, 149.

[100]Campbell to Clinton, September 14, 1779, Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, II, 31-33.

instructions to march against the British in the Gulf region.[101]

As evidence that the British espionage system at New Orleans was still effective, the following extract from a letter dated at Pensacola on August 10 is quoted: "We have just received advice here, that the Governor of New Orleans has orders from the Court to declare war against Great Britain and all her dominions, and that the same had been made public there."[102]

Rivalry now existed between English and Spanish colonial forces to see which side could strike the first effective blow. British plans called for a joint attack upon New Orleans by expeditions from West Florida and from Canada.[103] American troops in the Illinois Country acting in cooperation with Spanish colonial forces at St. Louis, effectively disrupted British plans for a descent from Canada, leaving West Florida alone to make an attack upon New Orleans. Late in July Lieutenant Colonel Dickson reached the decision to fortify a defensive position at Baton Rouge, sixty miles to the north of Manchac, as the latter place could not withstand attack, now growing increasingly imminent. Throughout the month of August his troops and the inhabitants of the region labored industriously to complete a redoubt at this more easily defended position; it was virtually complete by the time need for it had arisen.[104]

---

[101] James, Pollock, 194.

[102] London Chronicle, October 28-30, 1779.

[103] Caughey, Gálvez, 150.

[104] Copy of Lieutenant Colonel Dickson's reasons for removing to Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge Redoubt, September 22, 1779, in J. Almon, Remembrancer for 1780, 363-365; Caughey, Gálvez, 155.

Resolving that the best defense of Louisiana would be an offensive launched against the British posts along the Mississippi, Gálvez led out from New Orleans on August 27 a motley force of more than six hundred soldiers and recruits, inclusive of eighty Negroes and nine American volunteers, numbering among them Oliver Pollock. The addition of other militiamen and Indian auxiliaries raised the force to 1427 combatants by the time all had joined this ostensibly defensive force which Gálvez was leading forth to repel any British attack in the vicinity of Manchac.[105]

Only when Gálvez had brought his force to within sight of Manchac, on September 6, 1779, he informed them that war had been declared by their sovereign on the British, and that he had positive instructions to lead an attacking force against West Florida. Lieutenant Colonel Dickson had been warned by an Irish deserter from Gálvez' force that the Spanish army was moving toward Manchac, and he hastened to withdraw his main force to the new position at Baton Rouge, leaving at Manchac about twenty-five soldiers to delay the advance of the Spanish.[106]

On the day following, Gálvez led his militia against the British Fort Bute at Manchac and without difficulty captured the position. Twenty prisoners were taken at Manchac. As his force was only two-thirds effective, as a result of sickness and fatigue suffered by his troops, Gálvez permitted his men a few days' rest at Manchac before advancing toward Baton Rouge.[107]

---

[105] Ibid., 153-154; James, Pollock, 196; Gayarré, op. cit., 125 ff.

[106] Ibid., 126-127; Campbell to Clinton, September 14, 1779, Hist. MSS Comm., Am. MSS, II, 31-33.

[107] Caughey, Gálvez, 155.

[illegible] and defense of Innisfallen would be an offensive [illegible] along the Atlantic coast, Galvez led [illegible] August. If a mobile force of more than six hundred [illegible], [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible], marching among them Native Indians. The addition of other militia [illegible] auxiliaries raised the force to 1,427 combatants by the time [illegible] this outwardly defensive force which Galvez was leading [illegible] to repel any British attack in the vicinity of Innisfallen.[108]

[illegible] September 5, 1779, [illegible] [illegible] knowledge of the British, and that he had positive instructions to land [illegible] from against West Florida. Intervening Colonel Dickson had [illegible] by an Irish deserter from Galvez' force that the Spanish army [illegible] towards Mobile, and he hastened to withdraw his main force to [illegible] [illegible] to delay the advance of the Spanish.[109]

[illegible] and without difficulty occupied the position. Shortly afterwards [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] result of sickness and fatigue suffered by his troops, Galvez [illegible] his army a few days' rest at Manchac before advancing toward [illegible].[110]

---

[108] Lack, 184-185; Cowan, [illegible], 1911 Reprint, pp. [illegible], 100-[illegible].

[illegible] Galvez, [illegible] to Ulloa, September 1s, 1779, [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible], 186.

On September 12 the Spanish army reached Baton Rouge and invested the fortification.[108] Here Gálvez found a regular fort, surrounded by wall and ditch, and further protected by chevaux de frise. Thirteen cannon formed the artillery protection, and the garrison was composed of four hundred regular troops together with one hundred and fifty white settlers and armed Negroes. Gálvez began regular siege operations which culminated in an artillery bombardment of three hours on September 21, 1779. By the middle of the afternoon the fort was so badly damaged that Lieutenant Colonel Dickson was ready to capitulate. Among the Articles of Capitulation agreed on by Gálvez and Dickson were provisions for all the forts in the western part of West Florida to become Spanish possessions.

With respect to Fort Panmure, the following article was inserted:

> The fort at Natchez, as depending on this [Baton Rouge], shall be evacuated and delivered up to me [Gálvez], and the garrison shall have liberty to retire to Pensacola, Jamaica, or such other place under government of his Britannic Majesty, as they shall judge proper.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> N.B. The inhabitants of the district of the Natchez shall in like manner enjoy the same right and privileges granted to those of this district [of Manchac] by the capitulation: and moreover the permission to wear their swords is granted to

---

[108] Dickson's reasons for removing to Baton Rouge, September 22, 1779, in Almon, Remembrancer for 1780, 365-366.

all the officers without exception.[109]

Immediately upon the surrender of Baton Rouge, Gálvez sent Captain Juan Delavillebeuvre north with fifty men to carry to Natchez the information that it had been yielded up to Spain by the terms of the capitulation of Baton Rouge, and to receive the surrender of Fort Panmure. Accompanying Captain Delavillebeuvre was Captain Barber, formerly of the Manchac garrison, whom Dickson sent with instructions for Captain Forster to surrender Fort Panmure upon demand.[110] Also in the party journeying to Natchez was John Felt, the brave companion who escaped from Natchez to Manchac with Matthew Phelps.[111]

Oliver Pollock accompanied Gálvez in the Baton Rouge campaign, and his contribution to the effort to placate the Natchez inhabitants was an exultant and patriotic panegyric on the military prowess of Bernardo de Gálvez, ally to all friends of the American Cause. Apparently this strange document was carried along with the official communications to the Natchez settlement. Every effort thus was made to effect a peaceful ex-

---

[109]Articles of Capitulation agreed upon, and granted, between . . . Gálvez . . . and Dickson, September 21, 1779, in ibid., 360-363; given in substance in the following: translation of Spanish account of the siege that appeared in Suplemento A La Gazeta de Madrid, January 14, 1780, available in Jac Nachbin, ed., "Spain's Report of the War with the British in Louisiana," L.H.Q., XV (July, 1932), 468-481; Gayarré, op. cit., 129; translation from Madrid Gazette of December 31, 1779, in London Chronicle, January 22, 1780, and in Town and Country Magazine, or Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment (London), January, 1780.

[110]Caughey, Gálvez, 157; Nachbin, in loc. cit., 475; Gayarré, op. cit. 129.

[111]Phelps, Memoirs and Adventures, appendix, 2.

change of sovereignty at Natchez, reputed to be garrisoned by eighty grenadiers.[112]

It seems likely that the arrival of Captain Delavillebeuvre before the gates of Fort Panmure was the first intimation received by the inhabitants and garrison that war had been declared.[113] Surely the settlement could not have received word of the invasion sooner than did Pensacola, where no one knew the campaign was in progress until September 14, when the siege of Baton Rouge was almost concluded.[114]

Captain Forster was left no alternative but to surrender Fort Panmure and the region under his protection when he received his superior officer's commands, with evidence that his post had been included in the capitulation of Baton Rouge. On October 5, 1779, with the lowering of the British flag from its staff in the midst of the fort, there ended the sixteen-year period of English dominion over the Natchez region; for thirteen of these years Fort Panmure had served a useful function in the area, although a British garrison had been maintained in the fort for not much more than three years of that period. The return of the garrison, as prepared on the day following the surrender, showed as present one captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, two drummers, fifty-four rank and file, and thirteen women and children.[115]

---

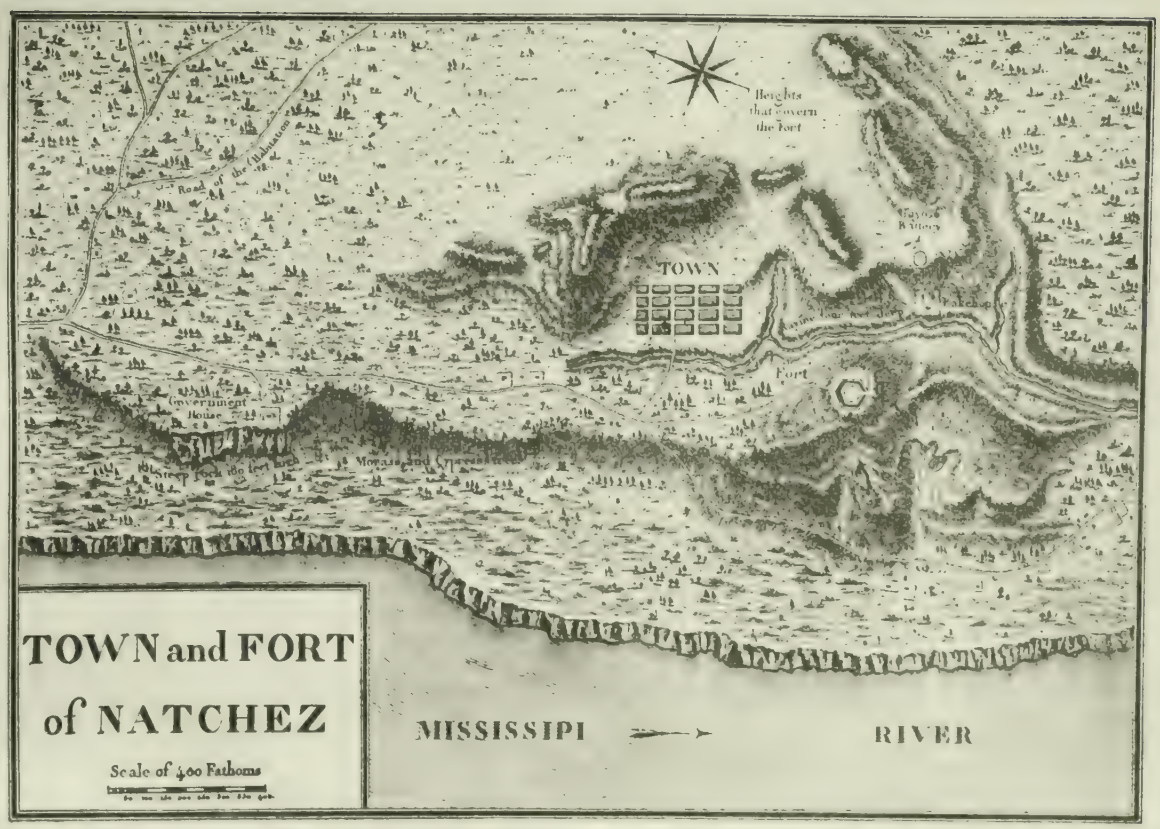
[112] James, Pollock, 197; Nachbin, in loc. cit., 475; Caughey, Gálvez, 157-158.

[113] Ibid., 158.

[114] Extract of letter from Major General Campbell to Lord George Germain, Pensacola, December 15, 1779, copied from London Gazette of April 1, 1780, in Almon, Remembrancer for 1780, 359-360.

[115] Caughey, Galvez, 158n.

The British evacuation of Fort Panmure in 1779 closed one of the briefest and least known, but certainly among the most stirring, periods in the history of the fort. As Fort Rosalie it had existed nearly fifty years under French rule before passing as a prize of war to England. Now that it had become by virtue of conquest a part of the Spanish domain, it was to be the scene of such dramatic episodes as the short-lived Natchez Rebellion of 1781, when British-born settlers once more attempted to re-establish English rule in their community; as a Spanish post, Natchez continued to receive English-speaking settlers from the United States, and gradually the town and countryside assumed much of the character of a frontier American village, tinctured with Spanish elements of culture that to some were romantic and soothing, but which to others were hateful and oppressive. As the beginning of the Spanish period was marked with strife and discord, so was its ending: Andrew Ellicott's efforts to play the diplomat while ostensibly a surveyor of the Line of Demarcation separating Spanish lands south of the thirty-first parallel from the lands that had become American in accordance with the provisions of Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 plunged the Natchez region into a welter of factionalism and intrigue. In all this confusion and discord, the Spanish Fort Panmure occupied a position as strategic and focal as it had under the years of British rule. In this sense the nineteen years of Spanish possession were but a sequel to the history of Fort Panmure at Natchez during the British period. In each case, the story deserves the telling.



[From Callot's *Atlas*, Pl. 34.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscripts

Mississippi Provincial Archives, English Dominion, MS transcripts from originals in British Public Records Office, London, now available in 10 folio volumes in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson. These materials were collected about 1906 under the direction of Dr. Dunbar Rowland.

Printed Documents

Almon, John, editor and compiler, The Remembrancer; or, Impartial Repository of Public Events. London. 1775-1780.

Alvord, Clarence Walworth, and Carter, Clarence Edwin, editors, The Critical Period, 1763-1765. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume X; British Series, Volume I] Springfield, 1915.

Alvord, Clarence Walworth, and Carter, Clarence Edwin, editors, The New Régime, 1765-1767. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume XI; British Series, Volume II.] Springfield, 1916.

Alvord, Clarence Walworth, and Carter, Clarence Edwin, editors, Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. [Collections of the State Historical Library, Volume XVI; British Series, Volume III] Springfield, 1921.

Burnett, Edmund Cody, editor, Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. 8 volumes. Washington, 1921-1936.

Carter, Clarence Edwin, editor, The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775. [Yale Historical Publications, Volumes XI and XII] 2 volumes. New Haven, 1931-1933.

Appendix

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscripts

[illegible] Provincial Archives, English Bookmen, MS transcripts from materials in British Public Records Office, London, now available in BC Public Archives in the Historical Department of Canada and Canada. These materials were microfilmed during 1969 under the direction of Dr. Doris Shadbolt.

Printed Documents

Clark, Jean, editor and compiler, The Government; or, Imperial Vanquished: Diary of Public Events. Victoria. [1861-1871].

Alvord, Clarence Edwards, and Carter, Clarence Edwin, editors, The Kaskaskia Records, 1750-1766. [Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume I; British Series, Volume I] Springfield, 1909.

Alvord, Clarence Edwards, and Carter, Clarence Edwin, editors, The New Regime, 1765-1767. [Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume II; British series, Volume II.] Springfield, 1916.

Lemmon, Clarence Edwards, and Burton, Clarence Edwin, editors, Trade and Politics, 1767-1769. [Publications of the State Historical Library, Volume XVII; British series, Volume III.] Springfield, 1916.

Barnett, Homer Guy, editor, Letters of Theodore de la Guardia to Pierre Pelletier: A Frontier Merchant, 1773-1779.

Carter, Clarence Edwin, editor, The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with Secretaries of State, 1763-1775. [Publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Volume II and 1013 [illegible]. New York, 1931-1933.

French, Benjamin Franklin, editor, Historical Collections of Louisiana. . . 5 volumes. New York, 1846-1853.

French, Benjamin Franklin, editor, Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida. New York, 1869.

Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. 4 volumes; Serial Number 59, Volumes 1-4. London, Dublin, Hereford, 1904-1909.

Nachbin, Jac, editor and translator, "Spain's Report of the War with the British in Louisiana," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XV (July, 1932), 468-481.

Padgett, James A., editor, "The Reply of Peter Chester, Governor of West Florida to Complaints made Against His Administration," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXII (January, 1939), 31-46.

Robertson, James A., editor and translator, "Letters by Governor Bernardo de Galvez, 1777 and 1778," Hispanic American Historical Review, I (August, 1918), 307-316.

Rowland, Dunbar, editor, Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-1766, English Dominion . . . Only 1 volume issued. Nashville, 1911.

Rowland, Dunbar, editor, and Sanders, Alfred Godfrey, translator, Mississippi Provincial Archives, French Dominion. 3 volumes. Jackson, 1927-1932.

Rowland, Mrs. [Eron Opha Moore (Gregory)] Dunbar, editor, Life, Letters and Papers of William Dunbar of Elgin, Morayshire, Scotland, and Natchez, Mississippi, Pioneer Scientist of the Southern United States. Jackson, 1930.

Rowland, Mrs. [Eron Opha Moore (Gregory)] Dunbar, editor, "Peter Chester, Third Governor of the Province of British West Florida Under British Dominion, 1770-1781," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, V, Centenary Series. Jackson, 1925.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, editor, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791 ... 73 volumes. Cleveland, 1896-1901.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, and Kellogg, Louise Phelps, editors, Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778, Compiled from the Draper Manuscripts in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society ... [Draper Series, Volume III] Madison, 1912.

Books

Charlevoix, P. de. Histoire et Description Generale de la Nouvelle France, avec le Journal Historique d'un Voyage Fait par le Ordre du Roi dans l'Amerique Septentrionale. 6 volumes. Paris, 1744.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Dumont dit Montigny, Jean. Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane ... 2 volumes. Paris, 1753.

DuPratz, M. LePage. The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina: containing a Description of the Countries that lye on both Sides of the River Missisipi: with An Account of the Settlements, Inhabitants, Soil, Climate, and Products. ... 2 volumes. London, 1763.

Ellicott, Andrew, The Journal of Andrew Ellicott, Late Commissioner on Behalf of the United States During Part of the Year 1796, the Year 1797, 1798, 1799, and Part of the Year 1800: For Determining the Boundary Between the United States and the Possessions of His Catholic Majesty in America, containing Occasional Remarks on the Situation, Soil, Rivers, Natural Productions, and Diseases of the Different Countries on the Ohio, Mississippi, and Gulf of Mexico, with Six Maps ... to Which is Added An Appendix ... Philadelphia, 1803.

Phelps, Matthew: Anthony Haswell, Memoirs and Adventures of Captain Matthew Phelps; Formerly of Harwington in Connecticut Now Resident New Haven in Vermont. Particularly in Two Voyages, From Connecticut to the River Mississippi, From December 1773 to October 1780. Compiled from the Original Journal and Minutes Kept by Mr. Phelps, during his Voyages and Adventures, and Revised and Corrected According to His Present Recollections. Bennington, Vt., 1802.

Pittman, Philip. The Present State of the European Settlements on the Missisippi with a Geographical Description ... Reprint of London, 1770, edition by Frank H. Hodder. Cleveland, 1906.

Newspapers and Magazines

Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle. London, 1763-1780.

London Chronicle. 1779.

Town and Country Magazine, or Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment. London, January, 1780.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

Alvord, Clarence Walworth. The Mississippi Valley in British Politics: A Study of the Trade, Land Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism Culminating in the American Revolution. 2 volumes. Cleveland, 1917.

Basye, Arthur Herbert, The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations[,] Commonly Known as the Board of Trade[,] 1748-1782 [Yale Historical Publications, Vol. XIV] New Haven, 1925.

Caughey, John Walton. Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783. [University of California at Los Angeles Publications in Social Sciences, Volume IV] Berkeley, 1934.

Claiborne, John Francis Hamtramck. Mississippi, as a Province, Territory and State, With Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens. 1 volume; none others issued. Jackson, 1880.

Cox, Isaac Joslin. The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813 A Study in American Diplomacy. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1912.] Baltimore, 1918.

Dwight, Timothy. Travels; in New-England and New-York. 4 volumes. New Haven, 1821-1822.

Eelking, Max von. The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence, 1776-1783. Translated by J. G. Rosengarten [Munsell's Historical Series, Number 19] Albany, 1893.

Encyclopedia Americana. 30 volumes. New York, 1932.

Garvin, J. L., editor in chief. The Encyclopaedia Britannica. 14th edition. 24 volumes. London and New York, 1929-1932.

Gayarré, Charles. History of Louisiana. The Spanish Domination. New York, 1854.

Hamilton, Peter J. Colonial Mobile An Historical Study, Largely from Original Sources, of the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin and the Old South West ... 1519 ... [to] 1821. Revised and Enlarged Edition. Boston and New York, 1910.

Hill, Roscoe R., compiler. Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication Number 234. Washington, 1916.

Hoefer, Jean Chrétien, editor. Nouvelle Biographie Universelle depuis les Temps les plus Reculés jusqu'à nos Jours, avec les Renseignements Bibliographiques ... 46 volumes. Paris, 1853-1866.

James, James Alton. Oliver Pollock: The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot. New York, 1937.

Johnson, Allen, and Malone, Dumas, editors. Dictionary of American Biography. 21 volumes. New York, 1928-1937.

Michaud, Louis-Gabriel, editor. Biographie Universelle, ancienne et moderne ... 85 volumes. Paris, 1811-1862.

Monette, John W., M. D. History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi, by the Three Great European Powers, Spain, France, and Great Britain, and the Subsequent Occupation, Settlement, and Extension of Civil Government by the United States, Until the Year 1846. 2 volumes. New York, 1848.

Paul, Sir James Balfour, editor. The Scots Peerage Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland Containing an Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of That Kingdom. 8 volumes. Edinburgh, 1904-1911.

Rowland, Dunbar, editor and compiler. Mississippi, Comprising Sketches of Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form. 4 volumes. [Volumes I and II are commonly referred to as the Encyclopedia of Mississippi History; Volumes III and IV are biographical.] Atlanta, 1907 [reprinted in 1916].

Savelle, Max. George Morgan [,] Colony Builder. New York, 1932.

Scott, Colonel H. L., Military Dictionary: Comprising technical definitions ... New York, 1861.

Stephen, Sir Leslie, and Lee, Sir Sidney, editors. Dictionary of National Biography ... 24 volumes. London, 1921-1922 [re-issued, 1938].

Wailes, Benjamin Leonard Covington. Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi Embracing a Sketch of The Social and Natural History of the State. [Philadelphia] 1854.

Wallace, W. Stewart, editor. The Encyclopedia of Canada. 6 volumes. Toronto, 1935-1937.

Winsor, Justin. The Mississippi Basin [:] The Struggle in America Between England and France [,] 1697-1763 [,] With Full Cartographical Illustrations From Contemporary Sources. Boston and New York, 1898.

[illegible]

Articles

Abbey, Kathryn Trimmer (Mrs. A. J. Hanna). "Peter Chester's Defense of the Mississippi After the Willing Raid," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXII (June, 1935), 17-32.

Abbey, Kathryn Trimmer (Mrs. A. J. Hanna). "Spanish Projects for the Reoccupation of the Floridas During the American Revolution," Hispanic American Historical Review IX (August, 1929), 265-285.

Aiton, Arthur S. "The Diplomacy of the Louisiana Cession," American Historical Review, XXXVI (July, 1931), 701-720.

Carter, Clarence Edwin, "Some Aspects of British Administration in West Florida," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, I (December, 1914), 364-375.

Caughey, John Walton. "Bernardo de Galvez and the English Smugglers on the Mississippi, 1777," Hispanic American Historical Review, XII (February, 1932), 46-50.

Caughey, John Walton. "The Natchez Rebellion of 1781 and Its Aftermath," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XVI (January, 1933), 57-83.

Hinsdale, B. A., "The Establishment of the First Southern Boundary of the United States," Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1893, 329-366.

Howard, Clinton N. "Colonial Pensacola: The British Period," Florida Historical Quarterly, XIX (October 1940, January, April, 1941), 109-127, 246-269, 368-401.

Howard, Clinton N. "Governor Johnstone in West Florida," Florida Historical Quarterly, XVII (April, 1939), 281-303.

Howard, Clinton N. "The Interval of Military Government in West Florida," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXII (January, 1939), 18-30.

James, James Alton. "Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVI (June, 1929), 67-80.

James, James Alton. "Oliver Pollock and the Free Navigation of the Mississippi River," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XIX (December, 1932), 331-347.

Johnson, Cecil. "Expansion in West Florida, 1770-1779," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XX (March, 1934), 481-496.

Kinnaird, Lawrence, editor. "American Penetration into Spanish Louisiana," in New Spain and the Anglo-American West: Historical Contributions to Herbert Eugene Bolton. 2 volumes. [Los Angeles, privately printed, 1932.] I, 211-237.

Date Due

3-21-73			

FORM 335 45M 10-41